MATERIALS OF THE FIFTH SESSION OF THE U.S.S.R. SUPREME SOVIET CONCERNING DISARMAMENT AND PROHIBITION OF ATOMIC AND HYDROGEN WEAPONS

★

HX
632
A1
W9
NO.498

Ex libris
universitatis
albertaensis

MATERIALS OF THE FIFTH SESSION OF THE U.S.S.R. SUPREME SOVIET CONCERNING DISARMAMENT AND PROHIBITION OF ATOMIC AND HYDROGEN WEAPONS

July 1956

☆

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PUBLISHING HOUSE
Moscow 1956

LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

CONTENTS

	Page
APPEAL BY THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE U.S.S.R. TO THE PARLIAMENTS OF ALL COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD CONCERNING DISARMAMENT	5
DECLARATION BY THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE U.S.S.R. IN CONNECTION WITH THE APPEAL OF THE JAPANESE PARLIAMENT CONCERNING PROHIBITION OF NUCLEAR, I. E., ATOMIC AND HYDROGEN, WEAPONS AND DISCONTINUANCE OF THEIR TESTS	8
DECISION OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE U.S.S R.	10
APPEAL BY THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE U.S.S.R. TO THE PARLIAMENTS OF OTHER COUNTRIES CONCERNING THE DISARMAMENT PROBLEM.	
Report by Deputy B. G. Gafurov	11
Speech by Deputy N. S. Tikhonov	20
Speech by Deputy N. V. Popova	26
Speech by Deputy K. P. Orlovsky	33
Speech by Deputy S. R. Rashidov	37
Speech by Deputy N. V. Tsitsin	43
Speech by Deputy A. P. Zhuravlyov	48
Speech by Deputy P. G. Tichina	53

DECLARATION OF THE U.S.S.R. SUPREME SOVIET IN CONNECTION WITH THE APPEAL OF THE JAPANESE PARLIAMENT ON PROHIBITION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND DISCONTINUANCE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS TESTS.

Report by Deputy I. S. Grushetsky 59
Speech by Deputy A. N. Nesmeyanov 70
Speech by Deputy I. G. Ehrenburg 76

STATEMENT BY DEPUTY D. T. SHEPILOV, MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE U.S.S.R., IN REPLY TO THE QUESTION SUBMITTED BY A GROUP OF DEPUTIES OF THE U.S.S.R. SUPREME SOVIET 82

Speech by Deputy J. I. Paleckis 89
Speech by Deputy A. N. Shelepin 94

APPEAL
BY THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE U.S.S.R. TO THE PARLIAMENTS OF ALL COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD CONCERNING DISARMAMENT

The Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, guided by the lofty aims of promoting peace among nations, regards it as its duty to call the attention of the peoples, governments, and parliaments of all states to a most important and pressing problem of today, which causes deep concern to the peoples of the entire globe—the problem of stopping the arms race, reducing armaments, and prohibiting atomic and hydrogen weapons.

The efforts which the United Nations Organization has been exerting in the course of the last decade to reach agreement on disarmament have unfortunately failed thus far.

The arms race is continuing in the world, with a further accumulation of weapons of wholesale destruction—atomic and hydrogen bombs. Millions of people are still separated from their families, being under arms. All this weighs heavily upon the peoples, diverting them from creative work and making them increasingly uncertain of their future and fearful of the menace of a new war.

In these conditions it is the sacred duty of the parliaments and governments of all countries, who are responsible to their peoples for the destinies of their states, to adopt effective measures to stop the arms race without waiting till the United Nations Organization succeeds in finding a solution acceptable to all the states concerned. This will be facilitated by the relaxation of international tension achieved lately and by the further development of friendly contacts and normal relations between countries on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

An exceedingly important measure providing conditions for the implementation of a general disarmament programme is reduction of armaments by every single state. The Great Powers, which bear the main responsibility for the preservation and maintenance of world peace, must play a special part in this. It is the Great Powers, which command the largest armed forces, that must set an example for reducing armed forces and armaments.

The Soviet Union, consistently pursuing a policy of peace and security of the peoples, has already set about reducing its armed forces, armaments and military expenditures. Without awaiting a general agreement on disarmament, the U.S.S.R. will, over and above the reduction of its armed forces by 640,000 men, effected in 1955, carry out, before May 1, 1957, a further, even greater reduction of its armed forces—by 1,200,000 men. Soviet armaments and military equipment, as well as defence expenditures, will be reduced accordingly.

The Supreme Soviet approves the decision of the Soviet Government to reduce armed forces and armaments and considers it an act of good will, a highly important beginning facilitating the practical solution of the disarmament problem.

The Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Re-

publics calls on the parliaments of all states to consider and support this initiative of the Soviet Union and to adopt in their turn effective measures to stop the arms race, reduce armed forces and armaments, and thereby make a worthy contribution to the cause of promoting peace among nations.

The Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is convinced that the struggle to stop the arms race will be crowned with success if the parliaments of other states bend all their energies to carry out real measures aimed at achieving that noble objective.

Moscow, the Kremlin. July 16, 1956

DECLARATION BY THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE U.S.S.R. IN CONNECTION WITH THE APPEAL OF THE JAPANESE PARLIAMENT CONCERNING PROHIBITION OF NUCLEAR, I. E., ATOMIC AND HYDROGEN, WEAPONS AND DISCONTINUANCE OF THEIR TESTS

The Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., on a motion by the Foreign Affairs Commissions of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities, has examined a resolution by the House of Representatives and the House of Councillors of the Japanese Parliament, passed in February 1956, which gives expression to the desire of the Japanese Parliament to achieve prohibition of the production and use of atomic and hydrogen bombs and, pending agreement on that issue, prohibition of tests of those weapons.

The Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. fully realizes the special concern of the Japanese people about the continued arms race and the carrying out of further tests of atomic and hydrogen weapons.

The Soviet Union holds that nothing but the complete prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons, that is discontinuance of their production, prohibition of their use, destruction of stocks, and their withdrawal from national armaments, can free the peoples of the world from the menace

of a destructive atomic war and the dire consequences which the use of those weapons would involve for mankind.

It is for this reason that the Soviet Union has, throughout the post-war years, persistently advocated the complete prohibition of atomic weapons and their withdrawal from national armaments, and has repeatedly submitted appropriate proposals to the United Nations Organization. In particular, the well-known proposal of the Soviet Government of May 10, 1955, provides for the complete prohibition of the use and production of atomic and hydrogen weapons and for their withdrawal from armaments. At the same time the Soviet Government proposed that the states in possession of atomic and hydrogen weapons should, as a prime measure in execution of a disarmament programme, undertake to discontinue tests of those weapons.

The proposal submitted by the Soviet Union on March 27 last also provides that the Powers should agree to immediately discontinue tests of thermo-nuclear weapons regardless of whether agreement has been reached on other aspects of the disarmament problem.

Unfortunately, these proposals have so far failed to gain due support, and the problem of discontinuing tests of thermo-nuclear weapons is still unsolved.

All this cannot, however, discourage the Soviet Union from its struggle for the complete prohibition of tests of thermo-nuclear weapons as a first step in that direction.

The Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. notes with satisfaction the unity of views between the peoples of the Soviet Union and the people of Japan on this most important issue and expresses the hope that the attitude of the Soviet Union and Japan towards this noble cause may be actively supported by the parliaments of other states.

Moscow, the Kremlin, July 16, 1956

DECISION
OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE U.S.S.R.

Having discussed the question submitted by Supreme Soviet Deputies Wasilewska, Korneichuk, Popova, Nesmeyanov, Surkov, Tikhonov and Ehrenburg on measures to end tests of atomic and hydrogen weapons, and having heard the statement of U.S.S.R. Foreign Minister D. T. Shepilov, the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. *resolves*:

To approve the policy and practical measures of the Soviet Government on disarmament, immediate cessation of atomic and hydrogen weapons tests and prohibition of the use of atomic and hydrogen weapons.

Moscow, the Kremlin. July 16, 1956

APPEAL
BY THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE U.S.S.R. TO THE PARLIAMENTS OF OTHER COUNTRIES CONCERNING THE DISARMAMENT PROBLEM

REPORT BY DEPUTY B. G. GAFUROV

Comrade Deputies, the Foreign Affairs Commissions of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities have instructed me to report to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. on the present state of affairs regarding the disarmament problem and to submit to you a pertinent draft Appeal by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. to the parliaments of all countries of the world.

Comrade Deputies, Soviet public opinion and all the peoples of our country note with deep satisfaction that the international situation today is marked by relaxed tension in relations between countries, although there still are great obstacles to the solution of this problem. The international situation has improved to a certain extent as a result of a number of consistent and decisive steps taken by the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic, and other peace-loving countries.

Improvement of the international situation has undoubtedly been aided by personal contacts between Soviet and foreign statesmen, by the foreign trips which delegations of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet have made, and by the visits which parliamentary delegations have paid to the Soviet Union.

The Soviet people wholeheartedly approve of the Leninist peaceful foreign policy being pursued by the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. and by the Soviet Government, justly considering that that policy is in keeping with the vital interests not only of our people but of the peoples of the entire globe. (*Applause.*)

At its previous sessions the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet unanimously approved of the activities of our Government, aimed at easing international tension and establishing contacts and mutual understanding with all countries of the world. I think this session of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet will also declare unanimously that the course which our Government has been firmly and consistently following in the sphere of foreign policy is a correct one, for it accords with the fundamental interests of all peoples, with their expectations and ideas, for it seeks to strengthen universal peace. (*Applause.*)

We all realize, however, that the results achieved in reducing international tension would have been far greater if the governments of the Western Powers had also adopted appropriate measures. It should be pointed out that whereas the Governments of Britain and France have taken certain steps in that direction one cannot say as much about the U.S. Government, which has been particularly stubborn in resisting all proposals designed to ease international tension and improve relations between states.

In the United States there still are statesmen who deliberately ignore the concrete peaceful steps of the Soviet Union. They refuse to meet the Soviet Government's measures half-way. Moreover, they try to make out that improvement of the international situation hinges solely on the Soviet Union and want the Soviet Union further to prove "by deeds, not by words," its desire for peace. Those statesmen refuse to understand that normalization of the international situation depends on joint efforts by all states, primarily the five Great Powers who, according to the U.N. Charter, bear the chief responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

It is only joint efforts by the states that would make it possible to stop the arms race and to settle the most important and most pressing problem of today, which is worrying mankind—the disarmament problem. Armaments reduction is the way to free the masses of the people from the fear of war, to establish genuine confidence between countries. The fight for real disarmament is a fight for higher standards of living for the nations, for their happiness, for peace.

Like all peace-loving peoples, the Soviet people are vitally concerned with stopping the arms race, with agreement being reached on disarmament. All means and opportunities should be used for the solution of this problem. The disarmament problem has been under discussion in U.N. agencies for ten years now, but its solution has made no real headway. This is a situation which we cannot tolerate.

The Foreign Affairs Commissions of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities have carefully examined the disarmament problem and the results of the discussions held in the United Nations.

It will be recalled that as early as 1946, that is, immediately after the United Nations Organization was set up, which solemnly proclaimed that its principal aim was to free the coming generation from the calamities of war, the Government of the Soviet Union proposed signing an international convention to outlaw the production and use of atomic weapons. At that time, too, on Soviet initiative, the U.N. General Assembly unanimously passed a resolution on the principles of a general regulation and reduction of armaments. But the decisions were never carried out.

The Western Powers do not support any of the concrete Soviet proposals for banning the atomic weapon or cutting armaments. Moreover, they renounce their own proposals if the Soviet Union signifies readiness to accept them. To cite an example, no sooner had the Soviet Union backed a joint British, French and American proposal for the levels of armed forces for the U.S.S.R., the United States, and China to range between 1,000,000 and 1,500,000 men each, and for Britain and France, 650,000 each, than they withdrew their proposal.

In May 1955 the Soviet Union submitted a proposal which constitutes an elaborate programme for reducing armaments, banning the atomic weapon, and removing the threat of a new war. The Soviet Union suggested most effective measures to control disarmament and reliable guarantees against sudden attack by one state upon another through setting up control posts at strategic points. But the Western Powers rejected this Soviet proposal as well.

The disarmament talks, held both in U.N. agencies and at international conferences, in particular at the Geneva

Conference of the Four Heads of Government, showed that the atomic weapon is one of the most complicated aspects of the disarmament problem. Following the Western Powers' refusal to agree to the prohibition of the atomic weapon and to its withdrawal from national armaments, in an effort to break the deadlock over the disarmament problem, the Soviet Government last March submitted a fresh proposal calling first for an agreement on conventional armaments. Incidentally, a similar proposal had already been made by British representatives. In submitting that proposal the Soviet Government proceeded on the assumption that agreement on reducing armed forces and conventional armaments would help to improve relations between states and thereby create favourable conditions for agreement also on the prohibition of nuclear weapons.

The Soviet Government also proposed ending tests of atomic and hydrogen weapons. Of late this issue has been acquiring greater importance. The peoples of many countries voice serious concern about the continued tests of atomic and thermo-nuclear bombs and demand discontinuance of such experiments. But none of these Soviet proposals won Western support.

While turning down the Soviet proposals the Western Powers advanced no constructive proposals of their own that would make it possible immediately to set about the practical solution of the disarmament problem. All that the new Western proposals have to show is the mention that the question of withdrawing the stocks of atomic weapons from national armaments shall be considered—not decided but considered—at a special international conference of scientists to be called at some unspecified date in the future. To be sure, scientists should be invited to take part in considering important international problems. But then scientists cannot ban the production and use of weapons of mass destruction. That can, and must, be done only by governments.

Nevertheless, the governments of the Western Powers show no inclination to take a single practical step in that direction. Indeed, Western diplomacy is going all out to complicate and tangle the disarmament problem, raising further obstacles to its settlement. This was borne out recently by a statement which Western diplomatists made

to the effect that the disarmament problem should be solved in conjunction with the settlement of the German problem and other international disputes and outstanding issues.

All the Western Powers' disarmament proposals are conditional on what they consider necessary — acceptance of the plan for "open skies," that is, for air reconnaissance and photography.

One is entitled, however, to ask the Western diplomatists whether there is going to be any disarmament after all or not. The question of air photography has nothing whatsoever to do with the disarmament problem. Unless there is disarmament that sort of air reconnaissance is bound to lead to an intensified arms race.

While fruitless discussions are going on as to what disarmament is and how it should be started the world is continuing the arms race. New aircraft, tanks, guns, and warships are being built. The stockpile of atomic and hydrogen bombs is growing. Many millions of young people are deprived of creative work. Taxes and military budgets are growing. All this weighs heavily on the nations, making them increasingly uncertain of their future and fearful of the menace of a new war.

In these circumstances the peoples and governments must take most effective, concrete measures to put an end to the arms race and prevent a new war. What the nations want is deeds, not words; they are tired of interminable procrastination and wily manoeuvring by politicians who seek to dodge the practical task of cutting armaments.

The Soviet Government has already shown initiative in this matter by undertaking a further major reduction of the Soviet armed forces and armaments. Within a year—before May 1, 1957—the Soviet armed forces will be reduced by 1,200,000 men over and above the reduction of the armed forces by 640,000 men carried out in 1955. Soviet armaments and military equipment, as well as defence spending, will be cut accordingly. As many as 63 divisions and separate brigades are to be disbanded, among them three air-force divisions and other combat units totalling more than 30,000 men and stationed in the German Democratic Republic. Part of the Soviet Army military schools will be disbanded too, and 375 warships of the Navy are to be laid up.

The Soviet Government's decision on a further major reduction of the armed forces and armaments is fresh evidence that the Soviet Union wants to live in peace and friendship with other nations as it turns most of its forces to peaceful development, higher standards of living for its peoples, and the promotion of peace and international cooperation. That decision is applauded by the most varied sections of the populations of all countries, by all those who want and strive for peace.

Rarely has an international event brought such widespread commendation. Nevertheless, immediately after the Soviet Government Declaration was published, spokesmen of Western aggressive groups attempted to minimize the importance of the reduction of armed forces and armaments planned by the Soviet Union.

Quite recently one of the rabid partisans of the cold war, the notorious General Alfred Gruenther, made the laughable statement that "Russia's announced cut of 1.2 million men in its armed forces may actually increase rather than reduce the Soviet Union's war-making power." Mr. Gruenther proved to be his old self in this instance too, and this reminds one of the saying that the leopard cannot lose its spots. As for U.S. Secretary of State Dulles, he prefers Soviet men and officers to stay in the armed forces, on the frontier, and not to take up work in the national economy after demobilization. He is afraid that the demobilized may increase the might of the Soviet Union by working in the industries. Instead of responding to the Soviet initiative with disarmament Mr. Dulles declared that the United States would not reduce its armed forces. The reactionary forces which oppose improvement in the international situation are stepping up their activity, not scrupling to resort to all kinds of provocation. This is exemplified by such facts as the violation of Soviet air space by American military aircraft, the Poznan provocation, and others.

Comrade Deputies, everybody realizes that a considerable reduction of armed forces and armaments by the U.S.S.R., the United States, Britain, and France would undoubtedly have a beneficial effect on the entire international situation and would facilitate international agreement on disarmament.

Early last June Comrade N. A. Bulganin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., sent the heads of government of a number of countries—the United States, Britain, France, Western Germany, Canada, Italy and Turkey—messages calling the attention of their governments to the Declaration of the Soviet Government of May 14 on disarmament and expressing the hope that those governments, too, would take steps promoting the solution of the disarmament problem and contribute for their part to the further relaxation of international tension, to the consolidation of peace and security.

We devoutly hope that the governments in question will examine with the utmost care the messages of the head of the Soviet Government and will in their turn take measures to reduce their armed forces, armaments and military expenditures.

At present the Soviet representative on the U.N. Disarmament Commission, expressing the will of the Soviet people, is upholding the proposal for banning atomic and hydrogen weapons and discontinuing tests of those weapons, for reducing armed forces and military spending, for establishing effective control over disarmament.

The Soviet Union calls on the Western Powers to adopt a Declaration of states on measures to strengthen universal peace and the security of nations. The Declaration envisages that the states adhering to it shall solemnly undertake not to use force in international relations or resort to the use of atomic or hydrogen weapons. This Declaration, if accepted by the Western Powers, would be a major contribution to disarmament, the relaxation of international tension and the promotion of confidence in relations between states.

On July 12 the Soviet representative on the U.N. Disarmament Commission also submitted a proposal pointing out that the Soviet Government is prepared to support the new figures for the armed forces indicated by the Western Powers: 2,500,000 for the United States, the U.S.S.R. and China, 750,000 for Britain and France, and not more than 150,000 to 200,000 men for the other countries. This shows that the Soviet Union, being a real champion of peace, has once again made a concession to the Western Powers.

We do not know yet what the Western Powers' response will be to the new Soviet initiative and whether they will not once again renounce their own proposals. We say this because we have seen on more than one occasion that many Western diplomatists have a "grasshopper mind."

Comrade Deputies, a great responsibility rests on the parliaments of all countries, and above all on those of the Great Powers, to take effective measures to end the arms race and prevent a new war. We believe that the parliaments, which are known to exercise legislative power on matters of war and peace and on appropriations for military purposes and the armed forces, can do a great deal to remove the threat of a new war, promote confidence between states and switch the enormous sums now being spent on the production of means of destruction to creative purposes.

Who benefits by the arms race? Certainly not the working class, not the peasantry, not the working people in general. Only the capitalist monopolies are interested in it. They want military spending not to be cut but to grow from year to year, for the arms race brings them fabulous profits. Hence the monopolists seek to hinder the easing of international tension and vigorously advocate increased war budgets.

We know that there is now no country whose people do not demand that their parliaments should work to consolidate peace. This is something which statesmen and politicians have to take into account. Many political parties and certain leaders have acceded to power precisely because they promised their electorate to promote world peace.

We believe that the most important and urgent task of the parliaments of all countries should be to intervene with determination in the cause of attaining international agreement on an immediate substantial general reduction of armaments, armed forces and budgetary expenditures for military purposes. I think that in the present conditions the peoples appraise the activities of their parliaments largely by their stand on disarmament, that is, on the task of strengthening universal peace.

Comrade Deputies, the peoples of the Soviet Union long for peace. It is the cherished desire of every Soviet man and woman that dependable guarantees be created against war.

The Foreign Affairs Commissions of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet propose approving the Soviet Government's decision on unilateral reduction of the armed forces of the U.S.S.R. and calling on the parliaments of all countries to support the initiative of the Soviet Government and follow the example of the U.S.S.R. in reducing armed forces and armaments.

Allow me to read the draft Appeal by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. to the Parliaments of All Countries of the World. (*Deputy B. G. Gafurov reads the draft Appeal, which the Deputies greet with applause.*)

SPEECH BY DEPUTY N. S. TIKHONOV

Comrade Deputies, we have just heard a detailed report presented by Deputy Gafurov on instructions of the Foreign Affairs Commissions of the Soviet of Nationalities and the Soviet of the Union of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, "On an Appeal by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. to the Parliaments of Other Countries Concerning the Disarmament Problem."

The disarmament problem is one of the paramount problems of present-day international relations. Disarmament is the best way to further lessen international tension, to promote confidence and fruitful cooperation between nations. All countries of the world need disarmament. Without disarmament there is no carrying out the many peaceful plans for national life, no solving the problems on which the well-being of big and small nations depends, because the arms race engulfs tremendous sums put up by the peoples, preventing their use for the benefit of the peoples.

The fear which the threat of war causes to the peoples will diminish with every further advance in disarmament. People all over the world are interested in disarmament because everybody knows the power of modern weapons and their cruel, destructive effect, which pales all the destructions of past wars. A new war would inevitably be one of extermination because the means of extermination have been developed to such an extent that war would not recognize any territorial or climatic limitations. Formerly vast expanses were an obstacle, but today that obstacle does not exist any more. Formerly countries with a severe winter or a hot tropical climate hampered military operations, but today

neither cold nor heat can check the action of means of extermination. I need not mention such new weapons of wholesale extermination as atomic and hydrogen bombs or transcontinental aircraft weapons and rockets which can cover thousands of kilometres and fly over oceans.

The nations are awaiting agreement on disarmament to be able to breathe freely when they have satisfied themselves that the spectre of war has disappeared from the horizon and nothing imperils the peaceful progress of mankind. And mankind has such tremendous creative forces that, after freeing itself from the nightmare of coming extermination, it could carry out a veritable transformation of life on our planet, turn deserts into habitable areas, and do a good deal for the benefit of future generations, given peaceful collaboration between scientists and specialists of all countries. Instead we see that the nations are ruining themselves by robbing themselves of these enormous opportunities for peaceful advancement and giving away untold national wealth for the arms race.

We know full well that a world-wide evil such as war cannot be eliminated at a stroke, that it will take time and effort to make tangible headway in disarmament. But we must fight for it without let-up, and without losing heart because of difficulties.

Once a remarkable champion of peace said that universal peace was not only attainable but was a necessary goal, and that it was only possible to retard or hasten its achievement. We must hasten the achievement of our goal, no matter how long we may have to fight for it. The nations have never lost sight of the struggle for genuine disarmament. All nations remember the peaceful proposals submitted and the actions undertaken by the Soviet Union, which has never despaired of the possibility of solving the disarmament problem.

Today, as we strive for real disarmament, we must not forget that those who stand for the arms race are resisting as ever our effort to bring about genuine disarmament. They talk a great deal about their love for peace, having borrowed the vocabulary of peace supporters, put forward new proposals that complicate the issue, after renouncing their earlier proposals, try to muddle up clear propositions and continue in the meantime to pile up stocks of arms. They

send arms to other countries to maintain tension there and to provoke nations. Those so-called advocates of peace carry weight both in politics and in those authoritative circles which head the arms race, making unprecedented profits.

We must also remember that the supporters of the policy "from strength" are unwilling to change their course and are seeking to hinder the fulfilment of the peaceful hopes of nations. Discussion of the disarmament problem has been going on for ten years now. We know that the U.N. Disarmament Commission has not yet reached agreement. Much energy and time has been spent, but the results are not palpable enough for the nations to hail them as decisive successes achieved by their representatives on the Commission. Discussions must and will continue because the nations long for peace. The masses of the people cannot for ever bear up in the oppressive iron impasse which the arms race has driven them into. The burden of that race is truly too heavy to be borne. Michael Foot, a British Labour M.P., said the other day that the burden of armaments was back-breaking. The British Chancellor of the Exchequer, Macmillan, admitted that a 50 per cent cut in the total of military expenditures could thoroughly improve British foreign trade and, moreover, release considerable sums for investment in modernization in industry, in the construction of schools, hospitals and roads, and in better social services.

Reporting to the last session of the Bureau of the World Peace Council in Paris, Frédéric Joliot-Curie, Chairman of the World Peace Council, cited an example from the arms race statistics, published in the *New York Times* on June 3. It says: "The Navy's giant Forrestal-class aircraft carriers are priced at about $200,000,000 apiece, exclusive of their planes. By an odd coincidence this also happens to be the estimated cost of eliminating malaria from the world." The newspaper asks: "How about commissioning one fewer Forrestal-class carrier than planned and spending the $200,000,000 wiping malaria from the face of the globe?" We would say that there is no need either for carriers of the Forrestal type or for malaria. Unfortunately, carriers of the Forrestal type are still being built while malaria goes on torturing millions of people.

There is a huge press in the United States which flattens and reduces to a heap of scrap new aeroplanes, sometimes fresh from the plant, because at present the new weapons, which are being produced continuously, sometimes become obsolete even before they are delivered to the purchaser. When that is the case they are scrapped. The scrapping is done without hesitation. But the money paid for them flows in an endless stream into the pockets of trusts and companies. Nevertheless, there are high-placed persons who put on a naive air as they deny the existence in their country of circles concerned with continuing the arms race.

The nations, who are now keeping a watchful eye on what is taking place in the political arena, know very well all that benefits peace and all that injures or hampers peaceful coexistence between states. They demand that a halt be called to the arms race which is ruining the working people and is fraught with great calamities.

Parliaments and governments are responsible to their peoples for what is happening. Now is undoubtedly a favourable moment for a more radical turn in disarmament, because there is a relaxation in international tension, and there is a universal desire to negotiate, an inclination for tolerance, a desire to begin putting into practice many peaceful opportunities. Where guns were roaring a few years ago peaceful silence has set in. Some of the problems have already been incorporated in international agreements as solved. The disarmament problem should also be settled thoroughly.

The Soviet Union and other democratic countries have taken decisive steps towards disarmament by beginning to reduce their armed forces and military spending. After a series of appreciable proofs of its peaceful intent, the Soviet Union has announced the decision to reduce its armed forces by 1,200,000 men in addition to the reduction by 640,000 men, carried out in 1955, reduce the number of Soviet troops in the German Democratic Republic, and lay up 375 warships. It has done so without waiting for the conclusion of an appropriate international agreement, and has suggested that the governments of seven states do likewise. Millions of people want the Great Powers to embark firmly on disarmament. The Great Powers can decide this without waiting till a general agreement is reached.

The nations have a right to call on their governments to take concrete action in the sphere of disarmament, and the parliaments can contribute greatly to peace by exercising their full powers. A lofty responsibility rests on the parliaments to preserve and strengthen peace. The parliaments adopt the most important decisions and legislative measures on peace and war.

When the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics issued its Declaration, considering that the establishment of direct contacts between parliaments, exchange of parliamentary delegations, and addresses by parliamentary delegations in the parliaments of other countries would be in line with the desire of nations to develop friendly relations and cooperation, it met with widespread response and achieved positive results.

Many foreign parliamentary delegations have been to Moscow; delegations of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet have in their turn visited various countries. All this has contributed to even more sincere and far-reaching contacts between nations through their plenipotentiaries, promoted cultural, economic, and scientific relations and mutual understanding, and made for a further lessening of international tension.

The Soviet people want to live in friendship and peace with all peoples. No difficulties can daunt them. Steeled in long trials, they have achieved a high degree of creative upsurge in all fields of knowledge and work. The Soviet people know what the devastations of war are like, and they also know what an effort it takes to rebuild what has been destroyed. Led by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, by the Soviet Government, they have fought for the freedom and independence of their country whenever an enemy threatened it, and they have always fought for peace, against war, for disarmament, against armament, for peace and friendship among all nations.

I am certain that the Appeal by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. to the parliaments of all countries concerning disarmament will be vigorously and fully supported by members of parliaments and many foreign statesmen who by their activities contribute to international peace.

I am certain that all Soviet men and women, all peace supporters throughout the world, will sincerely support the

Appeal, which deals with a problem of tremendous importance to the existence of all nations.

The Appeal will be historic because it is evidence of a new notable stage in the development of international ties and corresponds to the expectations of the nations of the whole world.

Comrade Deputies, I should like to stress once again that there is now no problem more important than that of disarmament. The hopes of all nations, of all peace supporters, are bound up with it. The Soviet people are in the front ranks of the peace supporters, and are vitally interested in promoting universal peace. That is why the Appeal by the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet to the parliaments of all countries will be a vivid expression of the will of millions of Soviet men and women, who are confidently fighting for world peace. (*Prolonged applause.*)

SPEECH BY DEPUTY N. V. POPOVA

Comrade Deputies, it has already been said from this platform that the world has seen important changes which have resulted in a substantial easing of international tension. The forces of peace have won a major victory, on the one hand as a result of the well-known measures of the Soviet Government which is unswervingly pursuing a Leninist policy of peace, and on the other hand as a result of the consolidation of the positions of those advocating international cooperation, as a result of the present-day peace movement, which has become a centre of gravitation for all those who want to help maintain peace.

The days of the "cold war" are slipping away into the past. Nevertheless, we cannot but see that, despite the progress made by the forces of peace, the main obstacle to a further radical easing of international tension—the arms race—has not yet been removed. Arms reduction and the banning of atomic and hydrogen weapons are the most pressing problems of our day. There is now hardly any international problem which causes to the nations of the globe so much concern as the disarmament problem, for it affects the vital interests of the masses of the people.

What have the two world wars brought to the nations? We remember it—over 80 million killed or crippled, enormous ravages and the destruction of material wealth created by a number of generations. A new war would involve an even greater loss of human lives and greater destruction.

But the arms race is not only the threat of a future war. Today it means a most telling blow at the standards of

living of the people. The arms race entails high taxes on the wages and incomes of the working people, rising prices of consumer goods, deterioration of the standards of living of the working masses. It means that millions and thousands of millions of dollars, pounds sterling, francs, rubles, kroner must be withdrawn from the sphere of peaceful development, that barracks are built instead of schools and houses and airfields instead of hospitals, that millions of men are put under arms, being snatched away from their families and from peaceful constructive work.

The arms race means excessively inflated military items in the national budgets, a situation in which the material wealth created by the working people, instead of serving to satisfy their civic, social, and cultural requirements and needs, goes into the production of means of exterminating people, of weapons of destruction.

The following fact, for one, furnishes an idea of the scale of the arms race.

According to incomplete data, that race has cost the parties to the aggressive North Atlantic bloc a sum exceeding the astronomical figure of $ 300,000 million. It is clear that as long as the piling up of atomic and hydrogen weapons is continued and armies millions strong are kept under arms, as long as enormous amounts are allocated for military purposes, there can be no genuine confidence between countries, peace will be in danger, and humanity will remain in the clutches of anxiety.

That is why the nations of the world insist that the heavy burden of the arms race be lifted and call on the parliaments and governments of their countries to solve the disarmament problem.

Who wants the arms race to be stopped and who is interested in its continuation? Everyone can see, and indeed there is no denying it, that an overwhelming majority of mankind—the working people of all countries—ardently desire the arms race to be halted and the disarmament problem to find a positive solution. The continued arms race and growing militarism is in the interest of a handful of people heading major monopolies which manufacture arms, making enormous profits. Clay, a well-known American general and banker, called the arms race in the United States the big-

gest business the world had ever seen; Josephson, an American journalist, holds that the arms race is a prolonged "honeymoon" between the military and the manufacturers. To the American people that prolonged "honeymoon" has always meant long years of war hysteria, growing taxes and prices, the fear of war, of unemployment and hardships.

In order accurately to establish what political or social groups and forces advocate this or that proposal or measure one should always find out who would benefit by it.

"In politics," wrote Lenin, "the important thing is not *who* directly advocates certain views. The important thing is *who benefits* by those views, those proposals, those measures.

"'Europe,' for example, the countries which term themselves 'civilized,' are now engaged in a wild steeplechase for armaments. In a thousand manners, in thousands of newspapers, from thousands of chairs, people are shouting and clamouring about patriotism, culture, the homeland, peace, progress—all that in order to justify spending further tens and hundreds of millions of rubles on all sorts of weapons of extermination, guns, 'dreadnoughts' (battleships of the latest type), and so on.

"One feels like commenting on all those phrases of 'patriots': 'Gentlemen of the public! Don't believe in phrases—rather see *who gets the benefit*!'"

These words of Lenin's, written more than 40 years ago, sound as if they had been spoken today.

Hundreds of millions of people in all countries are fighting for arms reduction and for a ban on thermo-nuclear weapons. Arms reduction is championed by the mighty peace movement, numerous trade-unions, youth, cooperative, women's, religious, and other organizations, people of an infinite variety of political views. With the great force which motherhood and love gives them, hundreds of millions of women throughout the world demand that the arms race be stopped and atomic and hydrogen weapons be outlawed.

The will of the people is sacred. It is doubly so when the point at issue is the destinies of the world and humanity, when it is a question of war and peace; it is sacred for those at the helm, for those who sit in parliament or are cabinet members.

The Soviet Government sets a great example for serving the people. In accordance with the will of the people and with Leninist peaceful policy, the Soviet Government has been exerting great efforts and taking consistent steps to bring about a speedy solution of the disarmament problem.

The Soviet state, which came into being with peace as a goal, has no reason whatever to pursue an aggressive policy. We have long since been free from classes or groups concerned with an arms race and war as means of enrichment. We reject in principle a policy which entails sending millions of people to war in the selfish interests of a handful of multimillionaires. What the Soviet people desire more than anything else is to live in peace and friendship with all peoples. Hundreds of foreign delegations visiting the Soviet Union satisfy themselves and unanimously point out that the whole of our country is engaged in enthusiastic peaceful construction.

The demands upheld by our people are understandable to and sympathetically received by all peoples. What do we want? We want an unconditional ban on atomic and hydrogen weapons, reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments, discontinuance of tests of atomic and hydrogen weapons, renunciation by all states of the use of force in settling differences or outstanding issues. We seek to further develop cooperation with all countries, extend contacts, maintain friendly relations with all peoples, and settle all issues solely by peaceful means, through negotiation.

As regards the disarmament problem, the Soviet Union has already displayed a noble initiative in that important matter. The Soviet Government's decision on a further considerable reduction of armed forces and armaments is striking evidence of the desire of the Soviet Union to live in peace and friendship with other peoples. It has been applauded by large sections of public opinion abroad. But certain Western circles are trying to minimize the significance of this decision and misconstrue its meaning.

But the peoples have learnt to deeply analyze international events and can now do it better than ever before. To those opposing arms reduction they say: "You claim that by cutting their armed forces the Soviet Union will increase its might. If that is so, why don't *you* reduce your armed forces

to increase *their* might? You allege that the Soviet Government's decisions are no more than a propaganda gesture intended to win public sympathy. If that is so, why don't you make a similar gesture to win public sympathy? You have repeatedly asserted that the sincerity of one's intentions should be borne out by deeds. The Soviet Union has shown by deeds that it seeks disarmament. But in what way have the Western Powers borne out their declarations? Lastly, you maintain that armaments cannot be cut as long as there is no confidence between states. But does the expansion of armed forces make for greater confidence? And does not the Soviet Union promote confidence by reducing its armed forces? In fact, would not similar steps on the part of the Western Powers contribute to greater confidence and pave the way for settling other international disputes?"

These are questions which no one can get away from.

There is an increasing demand in the West that the Soviet example be followed. The interests of peace require that other countries should in their turn take practical steps to reduce their armed forces without waiting till the United Nations reaches agreement on disarmament.

The rapporteur, Comrade Gafurov, has already mentioned the Message which Comrade Bulganin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., has sent to the heads of government of a number of countries, calling their attention to the Soviet Government's decision on a substantial unilateral reduction of armed forces. I shall mention that Message once more. We all support it, considering it of the utmost importance. It expresses the hope that the Western countries may for their part take such steps as will help to solve the disarmament problem and thereby contribute their share to the relaxation of international tension and to peace.

However, so far the Western Powers have taken no practical steps to pass from words to deeds in the sphere of disarmament and to carry out specific measures to cut their armed forces. What is more, recently the U.S. Congress passed a bill to allocate over $34,000 million for military purposes in the fiscal year 1956-57, or nearly $3,000 million more than last year.

It follows that, whereas the Soviet Union will be reducing its armed forces within the year at a daily average of 3,300 men, the United States will be spending about $100 million a day for military purposes.

On the other hand, the solution of the disarmament problem can hardly be furthered by the action of the West German Bundestag which has enacted a law on universal military service entailing even at its early stage expenditures for the upkeep of a West German Wehrmacht 500,000 strong.

The Soviet Government's measures to reduce the armed forces and armaments, its proposals for banning atomic and hydrogen weapons, for stopping tests of those weapons, and for general European cooperation in the peaceful uses of atomic energy, and other proposals are already bringing enthusiastic response and approval from the whole world. This is not to be wondered at, for they are in keeping with the cherished expectations and rightful demands of the peoples. This is indicated by the recent Appeal of the Bureau of the World Peace Council to the governments of the United States, the Soviet Union and Britain to immediately conclude an agreement on stopping all kinds of tests and experimental explosions of atomic bombs. None but the blind can fail to see the growth of the forces standing for peace and disarmament.

Or take the international meetings of peace supporters, trade unionists, women, youth, cultural workers, people of diverse political views and convictions, different social groups, races and nationalities. No matter whether the items on their agenda are protection of children, equal pay for equal work, women's rights, protection of trade-union rights, or the standards of living of the working people, the first thing which every speaker says is: "We want peace, we are against the arms race, we stand for general disarmament, for the discontinuance of tests of atomic and hydrogen weapons, for their prohibition."

The great discoveries of man's genius must be placed at the service of peace, not war. The titanic force which the atomic nucleus possesses must serve constructive purposes, not destruction. We do not recognize such a conception of science as was put forward recently by Dr. Hill, Director of the U.S. Government-controlled Lincoln Laboratory at

the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He said that the task was not to advance knowledge but to advance military science.

No! That is not the kind of task which mankind expects science to fulfil; that is not where its noble and lofty aims lie!

Comrade Deputies, the tremendous responsibility resting on parliaments with regard to problems of war and peace is well known The disarmament problem, which is of prime importance, should take precedence in the activities of parliaments. It is their sacred duty towards their electorates and their own conscience to exert specific efforts to bring about an arms reduction.

The Soviet Government has initiated a unilateral reduction of armed forces and armaments, thereby making an exceedingly momentous beginning that facilitates the practical solution of the disarmament problem. All of us members of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S S R approve of and support this decision of the Soviet Government to reduce armed forces and armaments The Supreme Soviet, in its turn, must exert efforts towards that end by initiating an appropriate move with the parliaments of all countries. That is why the proposal submitted by the rapporteur and the Foreign Affairs Commissions for adopting an appeal by the Supreme Soviet to all the parliaments of the world concerning reduction of armaments will be supported not only by the Deputies to the Supreme Soviet. It will also be supported by the whole of our electorate, all our peoples, and will be welcomed by all the peoples of the world.

There can be no doubt that the arms race will be stopped. To achieve that the peoples of all countries, their governments and in particular their parliaments, must bend their energies to carry out real measures aimed at reducing armaments and outlawing atomic and hydrogen weapons. It is the sacred duty of the members of parliament of all countries to spare no effort to carry into effect the demand of their peoples for putting an end to the arms race. (*Applause.*)

SPEECH BY DEPUTY K. P. ORLOVSKY

Comrade Deputies, today we are discussing a problem which affects the vital interests of millions of working people. The destinies of peace and the future of all nations depend largely on how the problem of disarmament is solved. And the nations of the world long for peace and a tranquil life.

I feel it is my duty to speak here against the arms race and for peace. What I am going to say will be the words of an ordinary Soviet man who well knows what war means. I know war not by hearsay but from personal experience, as one who has fought in several wars. I have a clear idea of the untold calamities which war brings upon nations.

I was in the armed forces for many years, but all my life I have been drawn to farming. I was born in a peasant family and am a peasant myself. Had it not been for the menace of war, which has always interfered with our life and work, I would never have taken up arms but would gladly have devoted myself to farming.

During the Great Patriotic War, I had, like many other people, to go through all the tremendous privations and severe hardships and losses of various kinds, which are concomitants of a soldier's life. I saw my fighting companions shed their blood, and saw the blood of children, women and

old people who had died of bullets, shells, or bombs; I saw flourishing areas and many of our wonderful towns—Minsk, Moghilev, Gomel, Vitebsk, Smolensk, and dozens of other towns—reduced to ruins and ashes together with their schools and colleges, their libraries and museums, their theatres and hospitals, their first-class factories and plants—all that millions of people had created by their labour in the course of decades and centuries. I saw it with my own eyes, and I shall never be able to forget or forgive it to those who launched that cruel war of devastation.

I was severely wounded and lost one arm in the war. Yes, I well know what war means. As a disabled serviceman and retired lieutenant-colonel I am drawing a good pension from the state. But I could not remain idle and I asked my Party organization to send me to work in the village where I was born and grew up, and where I was severely wounded. My request was complied with, and in 1944 my fellow-villagers elected me chairman of the local collective farm. We started work on bare land scorched by the war. Today our collective farm—"Dawn"—is a model enterprise.

Comrade Deputies, one may well ask why the will of the peoples, who imperiously demand putting at last an end to the arms race, a heavy burden to the working people, is obstinately ignored by the governments of certain countries which call themselves democratic. There is only this answer: Not all governments respect the will of the people. Since the Government of the United States of America refuses under various pretexts to accept specific proposals put forward by other governments and turns a deaf ear to the voice of hundreds of millions of peace supporters, we Soviet people cannot but declare that in this instance it does not act in the interests of the American people, even though it often refers to it.

All nations are vitally concerned with quiet and peace, they want to develop their economies and trade, produce more grain, potatoes and flax, get more meat and milk. But hiding behind the backs of the peoples of certain countries still are millionaires and multimillionaires, who look upon war from their own selfish point of view. To them the arms race, the sorrow and tears of the common people, are no more than a means of personal gain. As a result the peo-

ples of those countries are crushed by growing taxation, while their money flows into the pockets of multimillionaires. To the clamour about the "Red threat" the warmongers are pocketing fabulous profits.

Spokesmen of the ruling circles of the United States and certain other Western countries persistently emphasize their democracy. "Freedom," "peace" and "Western democracy" are the big words which they play up in their newspapers and broadcasts. But why is it that those vaunted democrats will not conform their actions with the will of the people? Why do they have to mislead ordinary people, whom they intimidate by talk about what they call Soviet aggression? It seems that that is their policy. They cannot do without deception. But experience has shown that deception turns sooner or later against the deceiver. Deceivers are exposed and called to account.

The Soviet Union is a great peace-loving state. The Communist Party and the Soviet Government are vigorously and consistently fighting for peace and the security of nations. All the foreign-policy actions of our government, the talks held in Moscow with the delegations of various countries, Soviet leaders to foreign countries, the extension of inter-parliamentary contacts and disarmament measures clearly indicate that our foreign policy is aimed at peace.

Side by side with our country, the Chinese People's Republic and all the People's Democracies are championing the lessening of international tension, preservation and strengthening of peace, and international cooperation. The socialist countries' peaceful foreign policy is in harmony with the expectations of the working people of the whole world and enjoys their wholehearted support.

Comrade Deputies, we must not slacken our efforts for general disarmament, against the threat of a new war, for peace and friendship, and for business relations with all states and all peoples. This is what all Soviet men and women—workers, collective farmers and intellectuals of our country—wish to attain.

The bitter experience of the recent past tells us that the settlement of the disarmament problem would go a long way towards shaping the further development of international relations and ascertaining whether history will head for peace

or war. In our day disarmament is no longer a matter for diplomats alone. Nowadays there is no flouting the demand of the masses of the people, who want the arms race to be stopped, atomic and hydrogen weapons to be banned, and armaments and armed forces to be reduced.

Allow me, on behalf of my electorate, to declare from this lofty platform that we wholeheartedly approve of and support the proposal submitted by Deputy Gafurov. The Soviet people, rallied round the Communist Party, are looking ahead boldly and confidently.

Long live the Leninist foreign policy of our Soviet Government, of our Communist Party! (*Applause.*)

SPEECH BY DEPUTY S. R. RASHIDOV

Comrade Deputies, when speaking of peace and advocating the cause of peace, the Soviet people think of Stalingrad destroyed by the Nazis, of tortured Leningrad, of ravaged Odessa, of scorched Sevastopol. The Second World War ended eleven years ago. Owing to the heroic effort of the Soviet people, Stalingrad, Leningrad, Odessa, Sevastopol, and hundreds of other towns and thousands of villages have been rebuilt, and are now better appointed and more beautiful than ever before. But the ravaged towns and villages, and the images of the near and dear exterminated by the war, are still fresh in the memory of nations. The Second World War taught the nations to prize peace and cherish the blessings of peaceful construction.

The Soviet people feel proud at the thought that in the noble cause of peace our socialist state, our Leninist Party of Communists, holds an honourable place, that they have shown great initiative and made an invaluable contribution to it. One has only to examine post-war history attentively and conscientiously to arrive at the undeniable conclusion that the Soviet Union has been consistently, vigorously and patiently, with due regard to the interests of the peoples of all countries, both big and small, upholding peace and seeking to bring about a lessening of international tension, above all through reduction of armaments and armed forces, and prohibition of hydrogen and atomic weapons as a prime requisite for the maintenance and consolidation of peace.

The world remembers that in 1946 the Soviet Union submitted to the United Nations a proposal for concluding a

convention on the prohibition of atomic weapons. At that time the imperialist tycoons shouted from the house-tops that the Soviet Union was compelled to advance that proposal because it had no atomic bombs and hence was afraid of an atomic war. At present our country has not only atomic but hydrogen bombs and a great many other things necessary for the defence of the freedom and honour of our beloved Soviet land. Nevertheless, we do not flaunt our strength or abuse it. Just as ten years ago, we are consistently and purposefully fighting for the prohibition of the use of thermo-nuclear weapons.

Those who, seeking personal gain, ignore the destinies of the peoples and do not want any relaxation of international tension, tried to justify the arms race, especially in the field of atomic and hydrogen weapons, by alleging that since the Soviet Union had a superior army the atomic weapon in the hands of the Western Powers created a balance of power. It is difficult for the governments of the Western Powers, above all of the United States, openly to oppose disarmament now that the Soviet Union has already reduced its armed forces by 640,000 men and is going to reduce them by another 1,200,000 men within a year. It is now impossible to cast any doubts on the peaceful policy of the Soviet state and to reject disarmament.

Today the multimillionaires, who are making huge profits on the arms race and trying to prevent disarmament, link the solution of the problem of reducing armed forces and armaments with the settlement of a series of urgent international issues. The advocates of maintaining international tension and the arms race are in a predicament now. The peoples of the world do not want war, and nobody can convince them of the necessity of killing the workers and peasants of any other country.

Our peaceful policy and our demand for disarmament meet with support throughout the world because our policy reflects the interests of the people. Our forces are great and invincible indeed. But we are against competition in the arms race. What we want is to cultivate waste lands, build new towns and villages for the Soviet people, create theatres, schools, colleges, health resorts and sanatoriums for them, increase the output of manufactured goods

and food products. And we say to the governments of capitalist countries: let us compete, not in raising the levels of armed forces and armaments, but in peaceful construction.

Like all honest people on earth, the Soviet people have already had an opportunity to convince themselves that the reduction of armaments and armed forces benefits the people and makes for higher material and cultural standards. It is precisely in recent times that, along and simultaneously with carrying out measures to reduce the armed forces and armaments, the Soviet Government has increased appropriations for social and cultural purposes, abolished tuition fees in schools and higher educational institutions, lengthened maternity leave, reduced the working day of adolescents and that of all workers and other employees on the eve of days-off and holidays. Now we have a new law on state pensions for the aged and disabled.

The Soviet Union is a great and powerful country. Its strength and wealth are growing daily. Not only are we building new towns in areas where man never set foot before but our manpower is growing from year to year. The net annual increase in our population is 3,000,000. We are fighting for peace, for lessening international tension, for disarmament, because we want our children to grow up happy, because we want more builders of new factories, new towns, new machinery, more engineers, agronomists, artists, writers, teachers, doctors serving human welfare.

We take pride in the fact that the Soviet Government is persistently, boldly and fruitfully carrying out a policy of peaceful coexistence, of friendship and cooperation on the basis of equality with all countries of the world. The myth of the Iron Curtain has been dispelled for good. Our doors are open to all. The Soviet Government, expressing the interests of the people, establishes contacts not only with the governments and parliaments of those countries which are with us in the struggle for peace but also with those other countries which show good will, including such countries as were hostile to us yesterday.

The Uzbek people, a member of the well-knit and inseparable family of the free and happy Soviet peoples, unanimously support the peaceful policy of their beloved Soviet

Government. An Uzbek proverb says: "If anyone enters your house with good intentions, even though he may have been your ill-wisher, receive him as hospitably as you would a friend."

The whole world has had the opportunity to see that the Soviet people, inspired with the idea of peace, welcome the representatives of all peoples, give them their hand in friendship, and express willingness to cooperate with them for peace. During the last 18 months alone, Soviet Uzbekistan has been visited by more than 100 foreign delegations, to say nothing of numerous tourists. Among our visitors were cultural workers from Argentina, trade unionists from Syria and Indonesia, Chinese and Norwegian journalists, textile workers from Uruguay, farm specialists from the United States and India, a delegation of the Economic Council of France, medical workers from Britain and Egypt and many others. Of special importance are visits to our country by parliamentary delegations. During the last year alone, between June 1955 and July 1956, the Uzbek S.S.R. has been visited by parliamentary delegations from Sweden, Iran, India, Indonesia, the German Democratic Republic and Denmark. Among the welcome guests of our republic were such outstanding statesmen as Jawaharlal Nehru, U Nu, Radhakrishnan and many others.

All those who came to our republic were shown cordial hospitality and provided with unlimited opportunities to visit factories and plants, collective farms, scientific, cultural and educational centres, religious centres, and to talk to the population. All those who visited Soviet Uzbekistan had a chance to see for themselves that the Uzbek people, like all the peoples of our great Soviet land, are engaged in peaceful construction and uphold the cause of peace as a vital national cause. All our guests were able to satisfy themselves of our sincere respect for all the peoples of the world, of our unflagging desire for friendship and cooperation. This is attested by the numerous utterances, entries, and telegrams of political, public, cultural and many other leaders of a vast variety of views. To cite an example, Tokusaburo Dan, Secretary-General of the Japanese Committee for Asian Solidarity, said: "I was struck by the fact that Uzbekistan had within a short time made tremendous prog-

ress in all economic and cultural spheres. It is amazing indeed that while nearly all of her population was illiterate before the Revolution today she has a national Academy of Sciences, dozens of institutes, theatres and other cultural establishments."

Hongo Shin, a sculptor who led a group of members of the delegation from the Japanese Committee for Asian Solidarity, stated: "During our trip we saw that in Uzbekistan, as everywhere else in the Soviet Union, the people enjoyed a peaceful life and sought to make life better still. We express our sympathy for the Uzbek people and are very grateful for the warm and hospitable welcome they gave to the members of our delegation."

Nils Larsson, a big landowner and a member of a delegation from the Swedish Riksdag, said: "I can state that Uzbekistan's agriculture has attained a very high level and is equipped with the latest machinery. The trip to Uzbekistan showed me that we can learn a great deal from the Soviet people."

We have convinced ourselves that exchange of parliamentary delegations plays an important part in promoting friendly relations and helps to improve mutual understanding and remove distrust between countries. Indicative in this respect was a speech made by Pastor Gottschalck-Hansen, a member of the Danish delegation, who said jokingly that he went to the U.S.S.R. with misgivings because he expected to get there into all sorts of trouble, but was agreeably disappointed and found real friends and a warm welcome in the Soviet Union.

I think, Comrades, that some of the members of foreign parliaments came to our country being prejudiced against it, even though unreasonably, but then undoubtedly satisfied themselves of the peaceful and friendly sentiments of the Soviet people.

We say to the members of all parliaments: Come to our country, let us establish personal contacts, let us work together for peace, let us fight together to ease international tension, for disarmament, for the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons.

The peoples of our country, and with them the whole of progressive mankind, enthusiastically approve of the Soviet

Government's proposal for reducing armed forces and armaments, and consider it an act of good will, a highly important beginning facilitating the practical solution of the disarmament problem. Today the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics calls on the parliaments of all countries to examine and support this initiative of the Soviet Union and in their turn to take effective measures to reduce the arms race, and make a due contribution to the cause of promoting peace among nations.

We Soviet people are certain that the arms race will be stopped if the parliaments of other countries do their utmost to carry out real measures designed to achieve this noble aim.

I wholeheartedly support the Appeal of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. to all the parliaments of the world concerning disarmament. The new decisive measures of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, intended to reduce armaments and armed forces, will be unanimously approved of not only by the Soviet people but by all honest people of the globe who treasure peace, the future of the rising generation, and the freedom and prosperity of their country. (*Applause.*)

SPEECH BY DEPUTY N. V. TSITSIN

Comrade Deputies, like all the peace-loving peoples of the world, we Soviet people warmly approved of the Declaration on Disarmament made by the U.S.S.R. Government on May 14 this year. You all remember this Declaration. Desirous of making a new contribution to disarmament and peace and to create still better conditions for our country's economic and cultural development, the U.S.S.R. Government decided to reduce the Soviet armed forces by another 1,200,000 men by May 1, 1957. Armaments and military expenditure will be reduced correspondingly.

Carrying out this new unilateral large-scale reduction of its armed forces, the Soviet Union has again shown that it wants to live in peace and friendship with all nations, that it wants to devote maximum effort to peaceful endeavour. On behalf of my electors and the scientists, I warmly approve of the government's peaceful policy of easing international tension and consolidating world peace.

The peaceful policy of the Soviet Union accords with the aspirations and hopes of all the ordinary people in the world. They are worried by the prospect of another war which will be more destructive and annihilating than the Second World War. Ordinary folk hate war because it brings them nothing but sorrow and suffering. It is gratifying that millions in the capitalist countries are beginning to realize who is pushing them on to the path of war and in whose interest it is being prepared. It is precisely this that explains why the voice of the peace champions is growing louder and more demanding. The ruling circles in the capitalist countries cannot ignore it and that is evidenced by their attitude to the Soviet Government's statement on disarmament of May 14.

The significance of the Soviet initiative was stressed

not only by the friends of the Soviet Union, but even by those who harbour different feelings towards our country. The London *Times*, for instance, criticized those who immediately proclaimed reduction of the Soviet armed forces a "propaganda gesture." The Conservative *Daily Express* wrote: "Britain should match the new Russian gesture. But action to cut the size of Britain's armed forces should be taken at once. It would be a spur to the process of disarmament."

It cannot be said that appeals of this kind have been heard by all the ruling circles in the capitalist countries, particularly in the U.S.A. And this in spite of the fact that the peoples are demanding that the Western Powers reply to concrete Soviet measures with similar measures. These demands have become so numerous and so persistent that in Britain, for instance, even Ministers now speak of the necessity of lightening the burden of military expenditure.

Colossal military spending is undermining the economies of the capitalist countries and leading to deterioration in the living conditions of working people not only in Britain, but also in France, Italy, West Germany and other capitalist countries.

Is there a way out? There is and it was shown by the Soviet Government. It is reduction of armaments and armed forces, of the Great Powers in the first place. Indeed, what is there to hinder that? There are few now who believe the American propaganda fairy-tale about the "Soviet menace," for they have come to see that it is both groundless and absurd. The Soviet Government's decision on further reduction of its armed forces and armaments has cut the ground from under the feet of the arms race advocates. Relaxation of international tension is welcomed by the broad masses everywhere and by the sober-minded representatives of the ruling circles in the capitalist countries. Even in the United States there is a growing demand to abandon the "positions of strength" policy and to stop building military blocs. The *Wall Street Journal*, the Big Business mouthpiece, admits that this policy has suffered a complete fiasco. It writes that "this combination of circumstances makes America's policy of military alliances increasingly unpopular in the world and, therefore, increasingly ineffective."

But, as facts show, the American ruling circles persist with the bankrupt "positions of strength" policy and arms race. The press reports that U.S. Congress has allocated $34,656 million for military purposes for the 1956-57 fiscal year, which is almost $3,000 million more than last year. The increase of the military budget clearly shows that the U.S. ruling circles, whose spokesmen are wont now and then to speak of the benefits of peace, do not really desire it.

The American policy of reinforcing military blocs and accelerating the arms race influences, as may be seen, the Western partners of the United States, which, though experiencing serious economic difficulties, are backing down on their own proposals instead of pushing them through. It is well known that the Western Powers went back on their own proposal for the armed forces levels for the five Great Powers as soon as the Soviet Union agreed to it.

This makes it perfectly clear who really champions disarmament and who is manoeuvring and deceiving world public opinion.

In this connection, from this rostrum I should like to say to the Western Powers: It is time to pass from words to action! Why not back your claims to peaceableness with concrete action—with reduction of armaments, as our country has done?! All the peace-loving peoples are expecting that.

Comrade Deputies, Soviet people—workers, peasants, intellectuals, men of science—are enthusiastically engaged in peaceful creative endeavour. They know that their labour will bring them and their children a happy and prosperous life worthy of the epoch. The numerous army of scientists, of whom I am one, is devoting all its effort and knowledge to the lofty task of improving man's life. All their thoughts and aspirations are imbued with concern for man: To enhance his health and prolong his life for many years. Our scientists are constantly striving to improve the working conditions and enhance leisure of the Soviet people, to make cities and villages more verdant, to promote the cultural advancement of the Soviet people, enrich their knowledge and help them to become active builders of communist society. The aim of the scientists, of

all the Soviet people, is to improve life on earth, to make it increasingly more beautiful. It is understandable, therefore, why we hate war and all those who want to sow death and destruction.

Is there anything more disgusting and shameful than the dissemination in the mid-20th-century America of the man-hating theory that it is biologically necessary to decrease the world's population? It is to please their masters that these pseudo-scientists are trying to "scientifically justify" new war plans. They are turning war into some biological "law," claiming that life can develop only when it kills life and that the more science is developed, the more effectively it can destroy and kill.

Without shame or scruple they are trying to prove that the military use of atomic energy is far more profitable than peaceful. They dare call war, epidemics and elemental calamities "the law of life." They prattle about allegedly natural exhaustion of soil, about the law of diminishing returns, about man's helplessness and predestination in his age-old struggle against the forces of Nature. Masquerading as scientists, these barbarians attempt to blame Nature for all the terrible crimes of the capitalist system—the plunder of natural resources, rapacious exploitation of soil, formation of waste land and impoverishment of the working people.

The Soviet people and we, scientists, stigmatize these despicable advocates of war. We know that the ranks of honest people fighting for peace are everywhere growing.

We are overjoyed that it is our country that is setting an example in the peaceful uses of atomic energy. The commissioning of the first atomic power station is a fact of paramount significance. It has paved the way to the realistic utilization of the colossal resources of energy contained in the nucleus. The day is not far, I think, when our scientists will rejoice the Soviet people with new discoveries that will permit utilization of atomic energy in all the branches of the national economy and cognition of the laws of Nature.

The creative labour of our people is directed at all-round development of heavy industry, sharp increase in agricultural production and improvement of welfare stand-

ards. The U.S.S.R. Agricultural Exhibition is concrete and conclusive evidence of our socialist state's desire for peace. In the two-odd seasons since its opening it has been visited by about 20,000,000 persons. In the same period its pavilions have been inspected by almost 2,500 delegations from 84 countries. The exhibition offers convincing proof that our Party and Government, leading the Soviet people to communism, are concerned with raising the cultural and material level of the working folk.

Relaxation of world tension, elimination of old artificial barriers to intercourse among nations and establishment of international cultural and economic contacts accord with the hopes and aspirations of people everywhere.

It is well known how warmly and cordially our people welcome foreign government leaders, parliamentarians and foreign guests in general. Our representatives are greeted just as heartily in other countries. In the past two years I have had the good fortune of visiting China, India, Britain, Czechoslovakia and other countries. I have met and spoken with people of different occupations, social standing and political trends. And the characteristic thing about all these meetings is that we have always found a common language, that they have always led to establishment of contact and understanding. The impression I have gained from these talks and meetings is that the movement against war and for peace has literally spread to every part of the world. It is based on man's natural desire for cultural intercourse and exchange of experience, achievements and ideas.

Peoples do not want war. They are determined to have the employment and manufacture of atomic weapons prohibited. The dark forces that are out to unleash war will be compelled to retreat in the face of the determined will of the peoples of Europe, Asia, Africa and other parts of the world. The ordinary people, the working people, do not want war and they sincerely welcome the disarmament measures boldly and resolutely undertaken by our government.

Glory to the beacon of life—the Communist Party, the vanguard of the working people, lighting the way for the great popular movement against war and for universal peace! (*Prolonged applause.*)

SPEECH BY DEPUTY A. P. ZHURAVLYOV

Comrade Deputies, at the present session of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet we are discussing a question of vast importance—the question of disarmament.

There is no need to stress that disarmament is an international problem and that its solution depends not only on us Soviet people, not only on the Soviet state, but also on the governments of the United States of America, Britain, France and other nations. Further relaxation of international tension, reduction of the burdensome military expenditure and the security of the nations will depend on how these states tackle the disarmament problem.

Our Soviet Government, consistently pursuing the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence, is waging a stubborn struggle for an equitable solution of the disarmament problem. Its position in this question accords with the interests not only of the Soviet people, but of all progressive men and women.

The Soviet Government has time and again displayed good will in this question. The invariably concrete proposals of the U.S.S.R. are evidence of our people's sincere desire to live in peace and friendship with all the world.

In his report, Deputy Gafurov spoke of the new initiative taken by our government this year in the field of disarmament. This step, warmly supported by our entire people, provides for the reduction of the Soviet Union's armed forces by 1,200,000 men by May 1, 1957, over and above the reduction of 640,000 men in 1955. The Soviet Union's peaceful initiative is of major importance for en

ancing international confidence and proof of our desire
o do everything in our power to eliminate mutual fear and
uspicion. It is not surprising that it has aroused lively
eaction everywhere, for the world public opinion regards
as an example worthy of following.

The new efforts made by the Soviet Government to break
ne disarmament deadlock are part and parcel of the policy
onsistently pursued by the U.S.S.R. to lessen world
rain. The visit of N. A. Bulganin and N. S. Khrushchov
o Britain, the Moscow talks between the Soviet and French
overnment leaders and the visits to Moscow of promi-
ent statesmen and political leaders of other countries
learly show that our country is doing everything to build
reliable foundation for durable peace and extend and
onsolidate its international ties. In all these international
neetings Soviet representatives have invariably raised the
isarmament question, stressing that in the present condi-
ions its solution brooks no delay and that it can be solved
if there is international cooperation.

We Soviet people wholeheartedly support this policy
nd consider that the Soviet Government is absolutely
ight in concentrating its attention on the solution of the
isarmament problem, for it is on the settlement of this
ssue that consolidation of world peace largely depends.

The Soviet Government's consistent stand on the dis-
rmament question is evidence of the might, and not weak-
ess, of our socialist state. That is how we Soviet people
nderstand it. It proceeds from the fact that the forces of
eace have become considerably stronger and are now in
position to give a fitting rebuff to those who are trying
o disturb peace. The Soviet Union's armed forces watch
igilantly over our peaceful labour and world peace.

Well aware of the international implications of the
Soviet Union's stand on the disarmament issue, the enemies
f peace are exerting every effort to distort the policy fol-
owed by our country, our great Party, our people. But
ll in vain, for it is obvious to all that the Soviet Union's
ew disarmament measures are an important contribution
o world peace. The advocates of the arms race are trying
o create the impression that the armaments reduction
ndertaken by the Soviet Union is devoid of practical sig-

nificance. Mr. Dulles has even declared that this initiative does not create any conditions in which the United States could afford to reduce its armed forces.

What can one say to this, Comrades? We have read many other speeches and statements by Mr. Dulles and we see that everywhere and in everything he remains true to himself. He is not concerned with the interests of the people, but with those of the American monopolies. I do not think that I shall be much mistaken if I say that Mr. Dulles's allegations about the Soviet Union's policy are needed merely to justify the wholly unwarranted increase in U.S. armaments.

We all remember the recent newspaper report that the U.S. Senate has allocated almost 83,000 million more for military expenditure in the 1956-57 fiscal year than in the preceding. It would be quite correct then to ask Mr. Dulles to explain the reason for this. All these years he has been alleging that the United States is compelled to arm because the Soviet Union is too well armed. What about now, when within two years the U.S.S.R. is reducing its armed forces by almost 2,000,000 men, as well as its armaments? Will Mr. Dulles continue to justify the policy of mantaining and reinforcing various aggressive blocs and retaining military bases on foreign territory? No, Mr. Dulles will not succeed in deceiving world public opinion by distorting the peaceful policy of the Soviet Union and justifying the aggressive policy of the United States!

The whole world can see that we Soviet people not only condemn the frenzied arms race, but are boldly reducing our armed forces and expenditure to use the money thus released for peaceful aims, for enhancing our people's well-being. Inspired by the momentous decisions of the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, we are waging an active struggle for their implementation, for building communist society in our country.

Our country—the land of socialism—is peacefully competing in the economic field with capitalist countries and is prepared to do so in the future, and it is certain of victory. We are fully determined to fulfil the Sixth Five-Year Plan ahead of schedule, to produce more steel, rolled

metal and other goods for our national economy, and we know that this is our major contribution to world peace.

Comrade Deputies, our Elektrostal Plant, in the vicinity of Moscow, is in the van of the struggle for the Sixth Five-Year Plan. Our workers have completed their six-month plan for 1956 ahead of schedule and have produced more than 2,000 tons of highquality steel over and above the quota. I have worked 32 years at the plant—28 of them as a smelter. In these years I have given the country thousands of tons of steel that have gone to make many lathes, engines and tractors. I know that our country needs mu h steel to build machines that will ease man's labour, and I shall, therefore, produce more and better steel.

Our smelters have asked me to say here that they will do everything to overfulfil the sixth five-year plan target. Together with our scientists we shall strive to produce the best steel in the world. We need such steel not for war, but for peace. We are proud that our Soviet steel is used for peaceful purposes.

We readily share our experience in steel-making with our brothers from the People's Democracies now advancing to socialism. I have visited People's Democracies four times. At the end of last year I visited Hungary as a member of a Soviet parliamentary delegation. Wherever we went there—to factories or cooperative farms, we witnessed high labour enthusiasm and saw that people ardently desired to work in peace and live in concord with other nations.

The struggle for peace unites millions because people do not want war. The peoples of the world insist on effective steps to stop the arms race and prevent war, and this can be achieved only by effective disarmament measures.

My colleagues and I myself, and for that matter all the Soviet people, are worried very much by certain international developments. We are interested in events abroad and this applies to the activity of the United Nations which was set up after the Second World War as an instrument to safeguard peace.

Recently I heard the Moscow television speech by Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, Secretary-General of the United Nations, in which he spoke of its significance. We Soviet people

respect this organization, for we regard it as an instrument called upon to defend peace. But at the same time we consider that the U.N. has not done everything to justify our respect. Take, for instance, the disarmament problem. There have been many speeches on disarmament and many discussions, but no practical results, although this organization can do much if all its members display a genuine desire to struggle for disarmament and peace.

Comrade Deputies, together with the entire Soviet people, the working people of the Moscow Region warmly approve and support the Soviet Government's active foreign policy of promoting peace and friendship among the nations.

On behalf of the electors of our district I warmly support the motion tabled in the Supreme Soviet by deputy Gafurov.

Long live the Soviet Government's peaceful foreign policy!

Long live peace and friendship among the nations! (*Applause.*)

SPEECH BY DEPUTY P. G. TICHINA

Comrade Deputies, this session of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet has been asked to examine important home and foreign policy questions.

The Soviet people, industrious and infinitely loyal to the cause of communism, is increasing its effort to carry out the momentous decisions of the Party's Twentieth Congress. Every day brings new reports that the country's leading enterprises, including those of the Ukraine, are overfulfilling state plans. Similar success has been achieved in agriculture. There is no doubt whatever that the targets set by the Sixth Five-Year Plan for an upswing in agriculture can be fulfilled ahead of schedule. It is precisely as a result of our successes in industrial and agricultural development that we can discuss and adopt decisions on further enhancement of the Soviet people's well-being.

In the international arena, the Party and the Government are waging a stubborn struggle for the implementation of the principle of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social and economic systems. The Soviet state's foreign policy, which we proudly call Leninist, has always been distinguished by its peaceableness. The Leninist foreign policy of peace pursued by the Communist Party and the Soviet Government, has always been determined by their invariable desire for peace and man's happiness,

which accords with the vital interests of the Soviet people and all the peoples of the world.

On every unsettled international issue, including disarmament, the Soviet Union has been submitting concrete proposals that take into account the interests of other countries. How many times, in its desire to solve problems, has our government met the Western countries halfway and accepted their proposals! Yet, every time it does so, the Western countries go back on their own suggestions. Frankly speaking, the policy pursued by the ruling circles of certain Western Powers has all the features of a diplomatic merry-go-round. They do all this with the sole purpose of maintaining international tension, continuing the arms race and securing huge profits for the monopolies.

The Soviet Government has proved by concrete deeds that it is striving for relaxation of international tension. It was on our country's initiative that the Austrian State Treaty was concluded and that a large number of countries were admitted to the U.N. The Soviet Government is extending contacts with leaders of other states, and taking measures to promote scientific, technical and cultural cooperation with these countries. Having encountered opposition from the Western countries in the sphere of disarmament, the Soviet Government has decided to unilaterally reduce its armed forces.

Thus, world public opinion can convince itself that the Soviet Union's policy is thoroughly peaceful and that straightforwardness, honesty and frankness are the distinguishing features of our diplomacy.

Certain Western politicians, however, are making clumsy attempts to ignore the concrete actions of the Soviet Government. Anti-Soviet statements, for instance, were made by U.S. Vice-President Nixon when he recently toured the Far East. Without rhyme or reason he declared that what the United States was expecting from the Soviet Union was deeds, not words. Whom is he trying to deceive? Does he really think that any sober-minded person will believe that the increase in the U.S. military expenditure in this fiscal year, the allocation of an additional $25,000,000 for subversive activities in the socialist countries and sys-

tematic violation of air space in the Soviet Union and People's Democracies by American planes, are peaceable acts? And conversely, will anyone really believe that the reduction of the armed forces and defence expenses in the Soviet Union is an act of aggression?

Protecting the interests of the monopolies, who are opposed to relaxation of international tension and reduction of armed forces, certain Western diplomats resort to dodges, hypocrisy and endless demagogic talk about peace in their attempt to kill the disarmament issue. The fact remains: so far the Western Powers have not given a single practical proof of their desire to improve the international atmosphere. More, responsible American government leaders have declared outright that the United States cannot agree to reduction of armaments.

There is no artifice the defenders of imperialism have not resorted to! In London, it appears, there is a "Russian expert," one Schapiro, who recently published a book under the title *The Future of Russia*. Schapiro took the magic mirror of future, of which only he himself knew, into his hands, took a look into it and saw that the capitalist system would be soon restored in the Soviet Union. Quite a fortune-teller!

And then there are "theoreticians" who majestically proclaim that "the political and economic system of which Marx and Engels dreamed has never existed anywhere on earth and never will." It is sad indeed what these defenders of capitalism are saying, sad and funny! One tries to invent, another to guess and yet another to prophesy. And it is quite fitting to tell them, in the words of a Ukrainian saying: "Lie and distort, but don't overdo it!"

But it is in the nature of the imperialists to utter deliberate lies and pray God for peace on Earth all in one breath; to call themselves peace-makers and at the same time send troops against the peoples of the dependent countries.

Many Western politicians and the bourgeois press are still doing their best to distort the Soviet Union's policy in every possible way and to conceal the truth about our life. To do that they stoop to vilest lies which have time and again been ridiculed by our press.

Everyone has read Ostap Vishnya's feuilleton in *Pravda* about how the London *Times* got into a mess. The *Times*, it appears, wanted to show how bright it was when it came to anti-Soviet slander and reported that there were demonstrations in Kiev on the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of Petlyura's death. It was not witty at all. There were British visitors in Kiev at that time, for instance. Did the *Times* not see this? No, it didn't. There were also visitors from India and other countries. Did the *Times* know about it and did it print anything about it? No. It didn't see, didn't know and didn't notice anything. What the *Times* and the likes of it do is concoct some nonsense and then go crazy with joy, as if they had found happiness. But, as the popular saying goes: "Some people have plenty of happiness, but little brain."

There is a big demand in the capitalist countries for all sorts of anti-Soviet concoction. The progressive Icelandic writer Laxness has an excellent comment about this: "It is enough to cook up some melange about famine, scarcity of clothing, housing difficulties, dirt and lawlessness in Russia ... and I immediately become the hero of international reaction...." But, Laxness adds, he had never stooped that low and never will.

Comrade Deputies, like all Soviet people, the Ukrainians had suffered much during the years of the anti-Hitler war. The war brought us vast destruction and losses. We have healed our war wounds. The Ukrainians do not want another war which would bring the peoples still greater privation and losses.

Today the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet is discussing an appeal to the parliaments of other countries on disarmament. This appeal, we know and believe, will reach the addresses in spite of artificial barriers and will be heard by parliament members in other countries. As a deputy of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, I should like to tell them:

Dear parliament members, yours is the noble task of defending world peace and security! Great is your responsibility to your people, to all the peoples of the world, who demand that you prevent war which will cause widespread destruction and innumerable losses. Then raise

your voices in parliaments, raise your voices for truth, for justice on earth, for disarmament! Campaign for better international relations, for lasting peace. Don't ignore these important and urgent issues! Rouse public opinion, don't be silent! You have been elected to parliament by your people and they expect you to defend their interests. Show the world with whom you are siding—with those who are preparing war or with progressive mankind that is fighting for peace?!

Comrade Deputies, the decisions of the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U. and the ensuing developments are evidence of the might of the Communist Party and the Soviet system. Our foreign policy is based on the principles of coexistence and non-interference in the domestic affairs of other countries. We want to improve our relations with all countries, barring none. We are striving to promote friendship among nations, extend trade and enhance cultural and scientific contacts.

The Soviet Union has returned to the German Democratic Republic the art treasure of the Dresden Gallery, which was saved by the Soviet Army from destruction. It is returning to Rumania and Poland the art treasures it had in its custody. As reported in the press, the captain of a Soviet vessel helped the ailing captain of a West-German ship. There are many similar examples of the humaneness of Soviet policy, of the humaneness of Soviet people.

Soviet people have never harboured any enmity towards other nations. There can and should be friendly relations with the United States too. Walt Whitman, the American author, spoke of such relations in 1881 when his works were first translated into Russian. He said, "How happy I should be to get the hearing and emotional contact of the great Russian peoples." It is for such contacts that Soviet people are now striving.

Those in the United States who think that our struggle for peace and our appeal for better mutual understanding are a sign of weakness, risk making a big mistake. We can remind them of the warning voiced by the outstanding Ukrainian writer Ivan Franko, whose hundredth anniversary will be marked in all countries this August in accordance with a decision of the World Peace Council

Bureau. Ivan Franko, who always advocated fraternal friendship between the Ukrainian and Russian peoples, wrote:

Never has there been
Such sharp steel,
With which a tyrant
Can truth and freedom kill.

Comrade Deputies, I share the opinion of other deputies and propose that we endorse the Appeal of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. to the Parliaments of All Countries on Disarmament. I am confident that this appeal will evoke a lively reaction in all countries and will contribute to the success of the great struggle for peace. (*Applause.*)

DECLARATION OF THE U.S.S.R. SUPREME SOVIET IN CONNECTION WITH THE APPEAL OF THE JAPANESE PARLIAMENT ON PROHIBITION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND DISCONTINUANCE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS TESTS

REPORT BY DEPUTY I. S. GRUSHETSKY

Comrade Deputies, allow me to report to this session, on behalf of the Foreign Affairs Commissions of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, on the appeal we have received from the Japanese Parliament regarding prohibition of nuclear weapons and cessation of their tests.

In February this year the House of Representatives and the House of Councillors of the Japanese Parliament adopted resolutions demanding an international agreement on prohibition of nuclear weapons and cessation of their tests.

The resolution adopted by the House of Councillors points out that "at present the atomic weapons problem has become an urgent international problem" whose solution, however, "is deadlocked to a considerable degree." The resolution says that the House of Councillors ardently desires prohibition of the manufacture and employment of atomic and hydrogen bombs. It calls upon the United Nations and the powers concerned immediately to undertake—pending the establishment of effective international control—the operative measures necessary for prohibiting atomic and hydrogen weapons tests. The House of Representatives of the Japanese Parliament declared that "the Japanese nation, the first victim of both the atomic and hydrogen bombs, most ardently desires an international agreement that would put an end to such tests."

These resolutions, reflecting as they do the passionate wish of the Japanese people to safeguard peace and pre-

vent the horrors of atomic warfare, were transmitted by the Japanese Parliament through the government to the governments of the Soviet Union, Britain and the United States, i.e., to the governments of the states possessing atomic and hydrogen weapons.

Comrade Deputies, there is hardly any need to say that all the peoples without exception, the whole of mankind, are deeply interested in prohibition of the manufacture and employment of atomic and hydrogen weapons—mass destruction weapons—as well as in the banning of their tests. Peoples want atomic energy, this greatest discovery of human genius, to be used for peaceful aims in promoting man's prosperity and not for annihilation and destruction. This is desired not only by the peoples possessing atomic energy resources but also by the economically underdeveloped countries that have recently freed themselves from the foreign yoke and are now rapidly advancing along the path of economic development. One may well imagine how fast the development of these countries would proceed and how much faster their well-being would improve if atomic energy were used exclusively for peaceful aims.

Prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons has been on the U.N. General Assembly's agenda for many years. This question, affecting the vital interests of virtually every man on earth, is focussing the attention of all the peoples, of the public everywhere. The fact that all these years almost no progress has been achieved in the solution of this question deeply worries the peoples, the Japanese people included. It was no mere chance that the Japanese Parliament voted so unanimously for prohibition of the manufacture of atomic and hydrogen weapons and cessation of their tests. The above-mentioned resolutions were adopted by the vote of the deputies of various parties, representing all the sections of Japan's population.

The Japanese people were the first victims of atom bomb attacks. The first atom bombs were dropped from American planes in 1945 on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. We know now that the use of atomic weapons—weapons of mass annihilation—was militarily unjustified. Militaristic Japan could have been compelled to capitulate unconditionally without the employment of

such barbarian weapons. Those who dropped atom bombs on peaceful Japanese cities and killed thousands of old people, women and children wanted to intimidate the peoples and compel them to submit to their will, the will of the overseas monopolies.

But the horrors the Japanese people went through in the autumn of 1945 did not end there. Apart from the dead, there are many people in these Japanese cities who have permanently remained invalids. There are still people who suffer physically from the effects of the atomic explosions of the seemingly remote 1945. How can the Japanese do otherwise than fight for the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons when they have experienced all the horrors of the attacks and their consequences?!

Fate has willed it that the Japanese people should also become the first victims of the hydrogen weapons tests carried out by the United States in the Bikini area on March 1, 1954. The victims of radiation were then the crew of the fishing vessel *Fukuryu Maru*. One of the crew died and the health of the rest was undermined. The fate of these people is still arousing apprehension.

All this has determined to a considerable degree the genuinely nation-wide character of the Japanese movement for prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons. "Prevent new Hiroshimas!"—such is the most popular demand in Japan today. Approximately 33,000,000 Japanese people, almost the entire adult population of the country, appended their signatures to the Appeal for prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons. Tens of well-known organizations, including the General Council of Japanese Labour Unions, the National Association for the Defence of the Peace Constitution, the Red Cross Society, the Science Council of Japan, the League of University and College Professors, the Federation of Lawyers' Associations, Association of Japanese Doctors and the Federation of Buddhists, as well as many other public, professional and religious bodies have come out unanimously for prohibition of nuclear weapons.

Japan has never known a mightier movement, one uniting all the social sections of the population, all the public and other organizations, people of different views and interests, than this movement for prohibition of nuclear

weapons. A few days ago, on July 12, representatives of the Japanese fisheries, mindful of the *Fukuryu Maru* tragedy of 1954, decided again to protest against this year's nuclear weapons tests in the Bikini area. They were joined by the Japanese Shipowners' Association. Thus, the movement for prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons, particularly for the ban on their tests, is becoming more and more multiform—there are individual and collective protests, mass distribution of pamphlets, leaflets and posters, organization of exhibitions at home and abroad, etc. It may safely be said that the resolutions of the House of Councillors and the House of Representatives enjoy the support of the multi-million, genuinely popular movement for prohibition of mass destruction weapons.

An international conference on the prohibition of atomic weapons was held in Hiroshima and Tokyo in August 1955, on the tenth anniversary of the Hiroshima raid. It evoked a widespread response and won mass support throughout the world. The delegates to the conference and the participants in the mass meetings held all over Japan proclaimed to the world that they would not allow a repetition of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki tragedy and demanded that atomic energy be made to serve peace and man's welfare.

The mighty voice of the numerous Japanese organizations demanding prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons and of their tests is growing louder and more resolute There is now the Japanese National Council Against Nuclear Weapons, with members from all sections of the Japanese population.

Comrade Deputies, the Japanese people's active struggle for prohibition of mass destruction weapons and their tests is part of the struggle waged by progressive mankind for peace, disarmament, international security, and prohibition of nuclear weapons.

In his message to the Japanese Assembly for Prohibition of Atomic Weapons Tests, held in Tokyo in March, Frédéric Joliot-Curie, outstanding French scientist and President of the World Peace Council, lauded the contribution made by the Japanese people towards mobilizing

world public opinion for the struggle against nuclear weapons.

"The Japanese people," he said, "have done much to show the peoples of the world how horrible atomic weapons are. The voice of mankind, demanding disarmament and prohibition of atomic weapons, is ringing in all the countries of the world."

Hundreds of millions of peace champions firmly and resolutely demand prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons and establishment of strict international control over its implementation. The Stockholm Appeal against atomic weapons was supported by almost 500,000,000 people. The Vienna Appeal of the World Peace Council, condemning preparation of atomic war and demanding destruction of atomic stockpiles and cessation of the manufacture of atomic weapons, was approved and signed by 655,000,000 people. Just recently, the Bureau of the World Peace Council, reflecting the will of hundreds of millions of people throughout the world, appealed to the governments of the United States, the U.S.S.R. and Great Britain to conclude an agreement on immediate termination of all tests and experimental explosions of atomic weapons. As you know, Comrade Deputies, this appeal is supported by the Soviet Peace Committee.

The great movement of the peaceable peoples for disarmament and prohibition of mass destruction weapons is reflected not only in the hundreds of millions of signatures appended to the appeals of the World Peace Council, but also in the statements made by numerous national and international organizations which demand that atomic energy be used exclusively for peaceful purposes in the interests of mankind. They include such major organizations as the World Federation of U.N. Associations, the International Cooperative Alliance, the Indian National Congress, the Annual Congress of 500 Methodist Churches, the British Trades Union Congress and dozens of other mass national and international bodies of different trends.

All this shows that prohibition of mass destruction weapons is demanded by the broadest sections of the population everywhere. The conscience of the world cannot reconcile itself to the danger of a destructive atomic war!

Comrade Deputies, together with the great Chinese people, with the peoples of all the other socialist countries and with the peace-loving forces the world over, our Soviet people, wholeheartedly and unanimously supporting the peaceful Leninist policy of the Soviet Government and Communist Party, is waging a consistent and stubborn struggle for the peace and friendship of the nations, for further relaxation of international tension, for deliverance of mankind from the menace of atomic war.

More than 123,000,000 Soviet citizens—the entire adult population of our country—have declared for the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons. Soviet people want to compete with other nations in peaceful construction and not in building up arms. They say: "Let's promote economic and cultural contacts, let's trade! Let's cooperate in science and technique in the interests of progress and civilization!

The position of the Soviet Union and its Government, reflecting the Soviet people's will regarding prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons and cessation of their tests, is quite clear.

The Soviet Government has always stood and stands for complete prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons, for prohibition of their manufacture and employment, for destruction of their stockpiles and for cessation of their tests. Our government proceeds from the fact that atomic and hydrogen weapons are weapons of aggression, mass destruction and annihilation of civilians. These weapons, unanimously condemned by the peoples as incompatible with their conscience, must be unconditionally banned and withdrawn from the armaments of all countries.

The Soviet Union was the first country in the world to set an example of peaceful utilization of atomic energy. It was in our country that the first industrial atomic power station was commissioned. At present, as provided for by the Sixth Five-Year Plan, new and bigger atomic power stations are being built in the Soviet Union. A powerful atomic-engined icebreaker is under construction. Atomic energy is being used more and more in all branches of the national economy.

The Soviet Union has also set an example of cooperation with other countries in the peaceful uses of atomic energy. We have signed scientific-technical conventions on nuclear research and peaceful utilization of atomic energy with many countries. It was on the initiative of our government that the Joint Nuclear Research Institute, uniting several countries for cooperation in the peaceful uses of atomic energy, was established.

The Soviet Union was the first country to call for prohibition of atomic weapons, immediately after the end of the Second World War. It was on the initiative of the Soviet delegation that the First U.N. General Assembly in 1946 adopted a resolution on general reduction of armaments and prohibition of atomic weapons. Desirous of facilitating and speeding up the implementation of this resolution, the Soviet Union has submitted to the U.N. a number of concrete proposals and worked out a draft international convention on prohibition of atomic weapons and a programme of effective control.

Unfortunately, the atomic weapons problem remains unsolved. Soviet proposals, though supported by the broad popular masses the world over, have been rejected by the Western governments. The ruling circles of the United States and certain other Western countries make use of diverse pretexts to hamper agreement on this urgent issue.

In the first years after the Second World War the United States had a monopoly on the secret of the manufacture of atomic weapons. That was why U.S. ruling quarters did not want their prohibition, believing they could be used as a means to blackmail and intimidate other nations and compel them to submit to the will of the major capitalist monopolies. The proposals then submitted by the United States, for instance, the "Baruch Plan," did not provide for prohibition of atomic weapons. They were essentially directed at extending U.S. atomic monopoly. The calculations of the atomic monopolists, however, proved to have been built on sand. With the assistance of industry, Soviet scientists discovered the secret of atomic weapons, and the United States lost its monopoly.

Once possessor of atomic weapons, the Soviet Union, contrary to all sorts of false "prophecies" widely spread in the West, did not go back on its proposals. On the contrary, it intensified its struggle for prohibition of atomic weapons. In 1947, 1948, 1949 and subsequent years, the Soviet Union came out with concrete proposals aimed at complete prohibition of nuclear weapons.

The enemies of the atomic ban resorted to new manoeuvres. They began to claim that since the Soviet Union was superior to the Western Powers in conventional armaments, prohibition of atomic weapons would render the latter helpless and disturb the balance of armaments. Proceeding from this utterly false claim, the Western Powers submitted a plan providing for prohibition of atomic weapons only after conventional armaments had been reduced. There thus emerged plans for armaments reduction by stages, which in reality would postpone agreement on atomic ban indefinitely. Briefly, it was tantamount to Western rejection of such a ban.

The Soviet Union, consistently and stubbornly striving for genuine arms reduction and prohibition of atomic weapons, continued to search for ways and means of finding a mutually acceptable solution for this urgent problem. In its proposals of May 10, 1955, it met the Western Powers half-way and took many of their proposals into consideration. But the moment the Soviet Union accepted the Western Powers' armed forces levels and their stage-by-stage prohibition of atomic weapons, they backed down on their own proposals and thus again showed who was opposed to disarmament and who wants to threaten mankind with a destructive atomic war.

The Soviet Union, as you know, has not given up its effort to break the disarmament deadlock. In its proposals of March 27, 1956, it suggested reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces to be followed by an agreement on prohibition of nuclear weapons. This proposal, it seemed, should have fully satisfied those who had claimed for years that the Soviet Union was striving for an atomic ban to weaken the West and then make use of its superiority in conventional armaments and armed forces. This argument proved groundless. It was nullified

by the decision taken by the Soviet Union unilaterally to reduce its armed forces by 1,840,000 men and to effect corresponding reduction in armaments and military expenditure.

Evidently forgetting that it was they who opposed prohibition of atomic weapons, the Western Powers raised a clamour, alleging that the Soviet Union is against banning atomic and nuclear weapons. This is plain hypocrisy and evidence that the enemies of arms reduction and ban of atomic and hydrogen weapons are ready to stoop to any means to defer the solution of a problem which will decide whether there is to be peace on earth or whether war danger is to prevail.

Comrade Deputies, from this rostrum we proclaim resolutely and categorically that the Soviet Union stands as before for complete prohibition of nuclear weapons. The Soviet proposals of March 27 were meant to help the Powers to reach agreement on those aspects of the disarmament problem on which their positions had become closer. Such partial agreement would pave the way to practical implementation of disarmament and simultaneously to prohibition of nuclear weapons.

Clamouring that the Soviet Union does not want an atomic ban, Western representatives deliberately ignore one fact: the Soviet proposals of March 27 expressly state that in meeting the Western Powers half-way in stage-by-stage disarmament, the Soviet Union is not going back on the programme of measures for prohibiting atomic and hydrogen weapons which it suggested on May 10, 1955. These representatives try to pretend that they have forgotten that it was they themselves who had rejected these proposals. They evidently think people are short-minded. But we are certain that the enemies of disarmament and prohibition of nuclear weapons will not succeed in deceiving whole nations. The peoples will expose their dishonest game and sophistry. (*Applause.*)

World public opinion has had ample opportunity to convince itself that the Soviet Union clings to its proposals for prohibition of mass destruction weapons and that it is the Western Powers that have rejected the Soviet proposals of May 10, 1955, which contained a comprehensive

and concrete programme of measures for reducing armaments and armed forces and for completely prohibiting nuclear weapons and their tests.

The Soviet Union will never cease this struggle no matter what difficulties and obstacles the Western Powers may create. At the July 12 meeting of the U.N. Disarmament Commission the Soviet Union again submitted a comprehensive programme of arms reduction, stipulating new armed forces levels, as suggested by the Western Powers, and including prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons.

Soviet people have always stood and will always stand for prohibition of mass destruction weapons. To facilitate international agreement on this issue which, as the long drawn-out negotiations in the United Nations have shown, is being complicated by the position of the Western Powers, the Soviet Union has proposed certain measures, among them immediate prohibition of nuclear weapons tests.

I think it will be fitting to recall that the Soviet proposals of May 10, 1955, stipulated that in the first phase of the arms reduction and nuclear ban programme the states pledge to terminate atomic and hydrogen weapons tests. The Soviet proposals provided for the establishment of a nuclear weapons tests control commission that would report to the Security Council and the U.N. General Assembly.

Similarly, the Soviet Government's proposals of March 27, 1956, called upon the Powers to agree on immediate termination of thermo-nuclear weapons tests, irrespective of whether or not an agreement is reached on other questions of disarmament.

Thus, it is quite possible to reach an international agreement on prohibition of nuclear weapons already today. It is a matter of record that atomic and hydrogen bomb tests can no longer remain a secret. Organization of control, therefore, does not present any technical difficulties in the present stage of science and engineering.

The Soviet Union is ready immediately to cease nuclear weapons tests, provided the other Powers that possess these weapons assume a similar obligation.

The Soviet Government has submitted to the United Nations a Draft Declaration by States on Measures for Consolidating World Peace and International Security. This docu-

ment calls upon all the states solemnly to pledge themselves to abstain from the use of force or threat of force in international relations, as well as from the employment of atomic and hydrogen weapons. All the states, whether members or not of the United Nations, should assume this pledge.

Comrade Deputies, we are sure that hundreds of millions of people the world over agree with us that only complete prohibition of the manufacture of atomic and hydrogen weapons and their withdrawal from the armaments of states can deliver the peoples from the threat of a destructive atomic war and from the burden imposed by the arms race. It will free people who are engaged in the manufacture of these unwanted lethal weapons for peaceful work and will release the resources and funds, now going for military purposes, for production of material values for the peoples.

The resolutions of the House of Representatives and the House of Councillors of the Japanese Parliament merit serious attention.

It was also with deep satisfaction that we learned of the resolution unanimously adopted by the Parliament of the Indonesian Republic on April 21, 1956, on prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons and of their tests.

The Foreign Affairs Commissions of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet attentively examined the appeal of the Japanese Parliament at their joint session and decided to recommend the Supreme Soviet to examine this document at the present session and adopt a corresponding decision.

On behalf of the Foreign Affairs Commissions I submit the following draft Declaration of the Supreme Soviet for consideration by this session.

(*Deputy I. S. Grushetsky reads the draft Declaration, which is greeted with applause.*)

Comrade Deputies, submitting this proposal for consideration by the Supreme Soviet, the Foreign Affairs Commissions are firmly convinced that it will be unanimously supported by the supreme legislative body of our country and will constitute another contribution by the Soviet people to the lofty cause of peace and world security. (*Applause.*)

SPEECH BY DEPUTY A. N. NESMEYANOV

Comrades, I would like to give expression to a feeling of satisfaction evoked by the resolutions addressed to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. by both Chambers of the Japanese Parliament, demanding that the production, employment and testing of nuclear weapons be prohibited.

We do not for a moment doubt that there is no nation on this earth that wants war, especially atomic war. The government of our country, in response to the expressed desires and aspirations of the Soviet people, have chosen the path of peace and in their international politics are following that path with patience, determination and skill. Unfortunately, there are some countries where such harmony between the expressed wishes of the people and the policy of the government does not exist. During the past few years there has been a very considerable easing of international tension and this has, to a great extent, been due to the active peace policy of our government. We are proud that the initiative in establishing contacts between the Great Powers and effecting meetings between the Heads of Government for the purpose of promoting mutual understanding and good-neighbourly relations belongs to our government.

Another important factor in international life during the past few years is the growing contact between parliaments of different countries effected through the Inter-Parliamentary Union, by exchange of delegations and also by discussing in the parliament of one country of international problems raised by the legislative body of another. Contact between higher legislative bodies that represent the peace-loving masses of the people is an effective way to peace. The activities

of the World Peace Council have also had a very positive effect in reducing the menace of atomic warfare.

Nobody has experienced the horrors of atomic warfare to such an extent as the Japanese people who not only remember the victims of Hiroshima and Nagasaki but to this day have before their eyes the misfortune and sickness brought about by that crime. It is for this reason that we listen with special attention to the voice of the representatives of the Japanese people and their demand for the prohibition of nuclear weapons and of tests of those weapons.

Ever since the problem of using nuclear energy was first raised our country has directed its efforts towards employing for the benefit of mankind the great discoveries made in the sphere of physics. We have done everything to bring about the prohibition of atomic weapons and to establish effective international control to ensure that such prohibition is observed. On the initiative of the Soviet Union, a decision to reduce armaments and prohibit atomic weapons was adopted in principle by the U.N. General Assembly as early as 1946. The Soviet Union was one of the initiators in setting up the U.N. Atomic Commission. In June 1946 the Soviet Union introduced to that body a draft Convention for the Prohibition of the Production and Employment of Atomic Weapons. The draft was rejected by the Western Powers. During the ensuing years, right up to the current session of the U.N. Disarmament Commission, the whole world has witnessed the consistency with which the Soviet Union has striven to effect the necessary international agreements on the absolute prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons, on the substantial reduction of conventional armaments and the armed forces, on the establishment of effective international control to enforce the observance of these agreements, and on the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen bomb tests. The proposals which Soviet representatives put before the U.N. and its bodies were concrete and precise. They were without doubt acceptable to those members of the U.N. that sincerely wished to avoid the war danger and save humanity from the atomic menace. The Soviet Union has always been quite willing to make concessions to its partners in the United Nations. It will be recalled that the NATO

countries resorted to the awkward move of renouncing their own disarmament proposals the moment the Soviet Union accepted them. If the Soviet Union's proposals had been accepted by the U.N. and if the appropriate international agreements had been concluded, the production of weapons of mass destruction would have ceased, armaments and armed forces would have been substantially reduced, tests of nuclear weapons pregnant with danger to life and health would no longer be made, and the nations would have acquired very important additional economic resources for peaceful purposes. If such has not been the case it is through no fault of ours.

On February 9, 1955, the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. adopted its memorable Declaration expressing the conviction that atomic and all other weapons of mass destruction should be prohibited. War propaganda in the Soviet Union is declared a crime by a legislative act of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. The Soviet Union considers it essential to put an end to the armaments race and to find, without delay, a solution to the problem of a general armaments reduction and in the first place of a substantial reduction of the armaments and armed forces of the Great Powers.

It is well known that the Soviet Government has not confined itself to realistic and far-reaching proposals for the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons, for a substantial reduction of armaments and armed forces, for international control in the effecting of these measures and for the easing of international tension. The Soviet Union, without waiting for agreements to be concluded, has effected a very substantial reduction in its own armed forces, a total of almost two million men.

Our government has returned to neighbouring states military and naval bases established outside the territory of the Soviet Union in accordance with treaty terms and has reduced budget appropriations for defence.

Is it not obvious to the whole world that there is not a single person in the Soviet Union to whom war or an armaments race is desirable or profitable, that we are all in favour of peace and for the most decisive peace measures, that the Soviet Union has no reason to go to war and that we value good-neighbourly relations with all countries. Thanks to techni-

cal progress the countries of the world are now not very far from each other.

Atomic energy is a great modern scientific achievement. The extent to which it increases man's power over the forces of nature may be compared to the discovery of the use of fire at the dawn of civilization. This great discovery must not be utilized to increase war power but for economic prosperity, for the flourishing of science and industry.

Many Soviet scientists and engineers are making the best use of their talents to solve the problem of employing nuclear energy for the needs of peace. For two years already the first 5,000-kw. experimental atomic power station has been working without a hitch, and very large industrial atomic power stations are being designed or are under construction. This is only the beginning of the new power developments.

We appeal to all nations to cooperate with us in this field and make no secret of our scientific research. For this purpose the Soviet Union has given the Chinese People's Republic, Poland, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Bulgaria, Hungary, Yugoslavia, and Egypt an opportunity to acquire in the Soviet Union atomic reactors and other installations and equipment for research into the atom and atomic power. With the same purpose in view a number of those countries have concluded an agreement on the establishment of a Joint Nuclear Research Institute. The Soviet Union has made a generous contribution by donating gratis unique installations developed by our scientists and engineers which include a 10,000-million electron-volt phasotron which is in actual fact a whole scientific town with first-class equipment.

Our scientists have shared with all the world's scientists their achievements in the study of the atom, the properties of elementary particles, atomic power and the use of radioactive isotopes in the most diverse branches of scientific and technical activity. For this purpose the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences called a conference in July of last year at which papers were read by Soviet scientists, which were later published.

In August of last year Soviet scientists took an active part in the Geneva International Conference on the peaceful uses

of atomic energy. Their contribution was given the appreciation it deserved by specialists in all countries.

In the course of last year and this year there have been a number of scientific conferences on nuclear physics problems called by the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences and by the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian S.S.R. All these conferences demonstrated the viability of Soviet scientific thought, the high level of theoretical and experimental science, the rapid progress that has been made in this branch of knowledge and the readiness of our scientists to work together with the scientists of the whole world on problems connected with the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes.

Scientists showed especial interest in the paper read by Academician Kurchatov on the latest Soviet research on the control of thermo-nuclear reactions for peacetime use. These are the reactions that take the form of the explosion in an H-bomb. Such researches open the door to the future of atomic energy and entitle us to hope that we may be able to carry out on Earth those thermo-nuclear reactions which provide solar energy, reactions constituting an inexhaustible source of energy.

There is nothing simple about modern atom technique. As far as its intricacy is concerned it is as far in advance of all former technique as the age of electricity was in advance of the preceding, purely mechanical, age. International collaboration is as essential to the development of atomic power for peace purposes as it is to the struggle against atom and hydrogen bombs. The reason for this is, in particular, that with the development of atomic energy there arises danger of contaminating the air, water and the Earth's surface with dangerous radio-active substances in the event of there being any careless handling. Safety precautions in this field confront the scientists of the whole world with a far from easy problem.

A still greater and more immediate danger is the contamination of the air, water and soil with radio-active substances arising from the systematic atom and hydrogen bomb tests. Those misfortunes which overtook the Japanese fishermen who were affected by radio-active products resulting from U.S. nuclear bomb tests may be repeated on a larger scale unless atomic weapon tests are stopped.

The discovery of atomic energy is a great boon to mankind but it necessitates the friendship of the nations, their combined work and integrated activities. We appeal to the nations and parliaments of the world for the absolute prohibition of the production and testing of atomic and thermonuclear weapons, for disarmament, for common work on the peaceful employment of atomic energy.

I propose that we accept the Declaration of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. recommended by the Foreign Affairs Commissions of both Chambers of the Supreme Soviet in response to the address of the Japanese Parliament on the question of prohibiting nuclear weapons and tests of those weapons.

A group of deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. consisting of Comrades Wasilewska, Korneichuk, Popova, Surkov, Tikhonov, Ehrenburg and myself have in this connection the following question to put to the Soviet Government: "Sharing the opinion of the Bureau of the World Peace Council in its proposal addressed to the Governments of the United States of America, the Soviet Union and Great Britain to conclude an agreement on the immediate cessation of all nuclear weapon tests, we place the following question before the Soviet Government—what measures does that Government intend to take to ensure the universal cessation of nuclear weapon tests?" (*Applause.*)

SPEECH BY DEPUTY I. G. EHRENBURG

Comrade Deputies, I wish to add my voice to the question placed by a group of Deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., members of the World Peace Council, announced by Deputy Nesmeyanov.

As you know, the World Peace Council addressed a message to the governments of the three Powers possessing nuclear weapons and proposed that they come to an immediate agreement on the complete cessation of nuclear weapon tests. In expression of the will of the Soviet people, the Soviet delegates, together with the delegates of other countries, voted in favour of this initiative.

It may seem to some people that the message of the World Peace Council is inadequate: why, they may ask, do you insist on the prohibition of nuclear weapon tests instead of demanding the destruction of the weapon itself. Allow me to remind you that six years ago the World Peace Council emphatically condemned the atomic weapon. After this many very authoritative organizations and people, learned bodies, a number of parliaments, trade-union organizations, mayors of the world's capital cities and men of religion made decisive statements against the nuclear weapon, the harbinger of unbelievable calamities for all mankind.

The World Peace Council unites different strata of society from different countries, and those who participate in its work hold diverse political views. They do not uphold the interests of any one party or of any one group of states. They condemned the nuclear weapon, not because it is supposedly advantageous to one side and not to the other, but because it constitutes a menace to all states, however they may

be ruled and to all books whatever may be written in them.

Why is it that at the present time the World Peace Council demands first and foremost that nuclear weapon tests be immediately stopped?

Everybody knows that many changes have taken place in the world during the past few years. Leading statesmen, representatives of the two camps, have begun to meet and conduct negotiations. The speeches of politicians, with rare exceptions, have become more restrained. Even the newspapers seem to have a pleasanter look about them. People have ceased fearing for the morrow. When they look at a map they no longer wonder where a bomb might fall but ask themselves where they can go for their summer holidays. Trade interests them far more than the exchange of polemic notes while tourist trips seem far more interesting to them than militant press conferences. Crowds of foreigners throng the streets of Moscow; the capitals of Western Europe have seen that Soviet tourists are interested in the Louvre, the Coliseum and Westminster Abbey and not military aerodromes.

World climate has changed, and in this Soviet foreign policy has played a tremendous part. I must say that that policy is in complete accordance with the peace-loving aspirations of our electorate. Patiently and insistently, with great skill and tact, the Soviet Government are day by day doing their utmost to dispel the fog of mistrust and hostility born of the "cold war" years. It would, however, be unjust not to mention the part played by other peace forces—the countries that do not belong to any group, such as India and Yugoslavia; social forces in France, Britain, the United States and other countries that are endeavouring to replace the era of mutual accusations and threats by an era of trust and international cooperation.

The continued arms race, of course, hampers the strengthening of trust and peace. We are well aware of this, and it is with the full consciousness of the importance of the disarmament problem that we adopted our message to other parliaments. There is, however, another cloud in the sky although that, too, shows signs of a slow but sure dispersal—that is, atomic explosions. They give rise to alarm, conster-

nation and fear in all five continents. I have recently been in a number of countries and wherever I have been, in Calcutta, Paris or Stockholm, I heard in conversations of ordinary people a note of alarm caused by a forthcoming nuclear weapon test.

Is it necessary for me to recall the tragedy of the Japanese fishermen or the just indignation of the Japanese people which found expression in the message of the Japanese Parliament? I want to say now to the people of Japan, to her workers and artisans, her gardeners and artists, her scientists and her fishermen that we have long forgotten past squabbles, that we are motivated by feelings of sympathy and respect for our neighbour, the Japanese people. We can understand how the atomic explosions must alarm the Japanese.

These explosions, incidentally, alarm people all over the world. I am not a scientist and I will not undertake to judge the extent to which nuclear weapons menace health and the fate of future generations. I will only say that leading specialists have pronounced many weighty words on this subject. The British Medical Research Council, interrogated by former Prime Minister Churchill, the French Academy of Sciences, and the Federation of American Scientists, which recently acquainted the Senate of the United States with the results of their work—all of them confirm the fact that a continuance of atomic tests may have disastrous results.

There is another circumstance that makes the question of banning nuclear weapon tests a matter of urgency. If I, as a non-specialist, am unable to judge the extent to which nuclear explosions poison the world's physical atmosphere, I know very well the extent to which they poison the political atmosphere. After every explosion the tone of the militant newspapers shows an upward trend while the tone of ordinary peaceful people is lowered. Common people again begin to look at their children in alarm, the nightmares of the recent past are resurrected, the coals of stifled hostility again begin to glow. The cessation of nuclear weapon tests would be a great step forward in the direction of general disarmament, would give greater faith and would bring nearer the genuine peace era.

It stands to reason, Comrade Deputies, that all of us desire the prohibition of nuclear weapons, the destruction of the

stockpile and the application of atomic energy to peaceful needs. The Soviet Government has on many occasions appealed to other governments possessing the nuclear weapon to renounce its production and employment. Unfortunately the Great Powers have not yet come to an agreement on this question. Certain statesmen attribute the failure of negotiations to the fact that control of nuclear weapon stocks and their production is extremely difficult, almost impossible of achievement. I am not going to enter into polemics with them, I am not a physicist, I am not even a diplomat. Atom explosions, however, cannot be kept secret, they are easily detected at any distance. The conclusion of an agreement to stop nuclear weapon tests, therefore, is not connected with the problem of establishing international control, and this again compels us to give first place to the demand to stop the atom explosions.

Who will dare say that the cessation of the tests will be advantageous to one side? Even a child would understand that if on Monday evening after a Soviet test some sly simpleton were to announce that it would now be advantageous to the Soviet Union to renounce atom explosions, on Tuesday, after the British test, he would look foolish. As far as the American tests are concerned, they have become so frequent that it would be difficult to say whether the agreement had been reached after yesterday's test or on the eve of tomorrow's. The prohibition of the tests is of equal advantage to all nations and to all mothers. It is of no advantage only to those maniacs who want to resurrect the "cold war."

The renunciation of the tests would have its effect on the nuclear armaments race. Designers of super bombs would be somewhat hampered in their work. But then the work of those diplomats who are endeavouring to reach an agreement on the prohibition of the nuclear weapon and on disarmament would be greatly facilitated.

The press of Great Britain and the United States speaks more and more frequently in favour of stopping the tests. Yesterday I read an article in the English *News Chronicle* which insisted on an international agreement against atom explosions. The American *Washington Post* said that if the Americans reject the agreement and continue nuclear weapon tests they will place their own well-being in jeopardy.

If this is what the journalists say, one may well imagine what ordinary people in America and Britain are saying. All mankind now realizes that the nuclear weapon tests must be stopped. In a U.N. Commission a few days ago the demand to prohibit atomic explosions was made by the representative of the great, noble-minded Indian people; the voice of ancient India spoke words that come from the hearts of hundreds and hundreds of millions of people all over the world.

When I speak of the desires of all mankind, I overlook those few, alas all too loud, voices that favour a continuance of atomic explosions. What have those to say who oppose the prohibition of the tests? They maintain that hydrogen bomb tests must not be stopped until the Great Powers reach an agreement on all disputed questions. In the meantime nuclear weapon tests not only prevent the Great Powers from reaching an agreement on any other question they also prevent people in the greater and lesser states from quietly enjoying the first years of tranquillity. How can we possibly tell the Japanese who are indignant at the atom tests: "We shan't stop the tests until the German question has been settled"? Can anybody possibly say seriously to the Australians who are greatly disturbed by the explosions: "We shan't stop toying with the fate of your grandchildren until an agreement has been reached on the Middle East problema"? The champions of the tests have no ground to stand on, and the will of all the nations must overcome the inertia of the "cold war."

We know that the Soviet Government has expressed its readiness to conclude an agreement on the cessation of nuclear weapon tests. Three days ago the Soviet representative again repeated this at the U.N. Disarmament Commission. Why then do we address a question to the Soviet Government asking what measures they intend taking to put a stop to nuclear weapon tests? We want them to do everything in their power to fulfil the wishes of the Soviet people and of the peoples of the whole world. Let the world know that the Soviet Union is proposing to other countries to stop nuclear weapon tests immediately, unconditionally in all their forms and in all places, on every latitude and longitude. That is the answer that we Soviet Deputies expect from the Soviet Government.

We hope that tomorrow or in a week's time these same words will be heard in the parliaments of Great Britain and the United States; we hope that our Western colleagues, pursuing those peace-loving, humane aims that inspire us, will propose to their governments that they immediately enter into negotiations with the Soviet Government for the complete prohibition of atomic explosions.

Comrade Deputies, we have a great role to play. The world knows that we express the will of our powerful, peace-loving people. The world will hear our debates and will realize that we, Soviet parliamentarians, are defending the interests of all mankind, that we are protecting not only the future of our own people but of all the peoples of the world, that we are not only thinking of Moscow's children but also of the children in New York, Delhi, London, Tokyo and Paris.

We have addressed a question to the Soviet Government and I am sure they will give us a firm, precise answer. Now, I address myself to our colleagues, members of the parliaments of Great Britain and the United States. The time for venomous monologues and for dialogues between deaf people is past. It is time for us to find a common language of respect and understanding. I venture to hope that parliamentarians in the Western countries will not leave my words without an answer but will in their turn say: "Stop the atom explosions, we must talk, must come to an agreement, and not intimidate others and ourselves with spectres of future calamities." (*Applause.*)

STATEMENT BY DEPUTY D. T. SHEPILOV, MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE U.S.S.R., IN REPLY TO THE QUESTION SUBMITTED BY A GROUP OF DEPUTIES OF THE U.S.S.R. SUPREME SOVIET

Comrade Deputies, we have heard the speeches of Deputies A. N. Nesmeyanov and Ilya Ehrenburg. As members of the World Peace Council, which has appealed to the governments of the United States, the U.S.S.R. and Great Britain to conclude an agreement on immediate termination of all atomic weapons tests, Deputies W. L. Wasilewska, A. E. Korneichuk, A. N. Nesmeyanov, N. V. Popova, A. A. Surkov, N. S. Tikhonov and Ilya Ehrenburg, who share the opinion of the World Peace Council Bureau, have tabled the following questions: What measures does the Soviet Government intend to take to secure termination of nuclear weapons tests everywhere?

I have been instructed to state the position of the Soviet Government on this matter.

The appeal of so representative and authoritative a body as the World Peace Council merits special attention by the governments of the three Powers. It is an appeal that should help towards early solution of this long-standing and pressing problem.

This session of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet has devoted much attention to the question of disarmament and prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons. This is only natural and follows logically from the fundamental features of the present international situation.

It is generally acknowledged that, as a result of the efforts made by the Soviet Union and other peace-loving countries,

international tension has somewhat relaxed. In these conditions, solution of the problem of disarmament and of prohibiting atomic and hydrogen weapons acquires truly *decisive importance* as a means of ensuring lasting peace. It can be said that progress along this path would have the most beneficial effect on the entire international atmosphere and on the settlement of controversial questions. For it is one thing when the search for ways and means of solving controversial questions takes place against the background of a feverish arms race, and quite another thing when that search is conducted against the background of progressive reduction of armaments and armed forces. Durable peace cannot be guaranteed without a radical cut in armaments and prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons.

The greatest wish of the peoples is to preserve durable and lasting peace, ensure the conditions necessary for peaceful life and peaceful labour, and for utilization of that great discovery of human genius—atomic energy—to raise the prosperity standards of all working folk.

Mankind remembers well the deplorable example of the League of Nations. Its many years of activity in the disarmament field was equal, in net result, to complete inactivity. For its activity amounted to an endless contest in the art of oratory and compilation of unrealistic projects. Everyone knows what the outcome was. Mankind has paid too high a price for the League's failure to achieve disarmament. The war took an immense toll of human life, destroyed colossal material and cultural values and was the source of measureless hardship and suffering. It would be a crime, indeed, to allow a repetition of this tragedy. It should not be forgotten that with the existence of nuclear weapons and jet engines, another war would mean incomparably greater devastation, loss of life and suffering.

We know that there are forces at work in the world today for whom the vital interests of mankind are no more than petty cash in their speculative game. These forces have turned the arms race into a gigantic business, into a gold mine that brings them fabulous profits. They are doing everything they can to prevent disarmament; they are manufacturing one deadlock after another. But we are confident that in present-day conditions these forces can and will be

curbed, and that the noble cause of peace will triumph. (*Applause.*)

The most insistent and dominant demand today, one in which the hopes and aspirations of all peoples find expression, is that on the question of arms reduction and prohibition of atomic weapons the governments pass at last from words to action. Now as never before it is imperative that everyone who *really* has the vital interests of mankind at heart, who *really* respects the will of the overwhelming majority of the world's population, who *really* strives for the consolidation of peace and international cooperation, should work for disarmament not merely in words, but in deeds.

Everyone knows what efforts the Soviet Union is making for *practical* implementation of universal disarmament and prohibition of atomic weapons and for an effective international disarmament control system. Unfortunately, the attitude of certain Western Powers has so far made general agreement on this issue impossible. The Western Powers have, on diverse pretexts, evaded such agreement. Instead of working out the necessary measures for disarmament, they are advancing such proposals as aerial photography, which has no relation whatever to disarmament, and collection of military information; they are putting forward all manner of preliminary conditions, for example, that disarmament be preceded by a settlement of political issues and so on.

At the same time, there is no lack of attempts to distort the real position of the Soviet Union. For instance, one comes across statements in the foreign press alleging that of late the Soviet Union has lost all interest in prohibition of atomic weapons. That assertion is false and absurd. The Soviet Union was the first country to call for unconditional prohibition of atomic weapons. It was on Soviet initiative that ten years ago, in 1946, the U.N. General Assembly unanimously adopted a decision on general reduction of armaments and prohibition of atomic weapons. And the Soviet Union will not relax its efforts in this field until nuclear weapons—weapons of mass annihilation of human life and devastation of economic and cultural centres—are prohibited and destroyed. (*Applause.*)

In view of the fact that the Western Powers refuse to immediately reach agreement on prohibition and destruction of atomic weapons, the Soviet Union has made another proposal. It suggested that the Great Powers agree *without delay* not to employ atomic and hydrogen weapons without a decision of the Security Council. But this suggestion too was not accepted by the governments of the U.S.A. and the other Western Powers.

Why did the Soviet Union recently suggest that agreement first be reached on reduction of armed forces and conventional weapons? For the simple reason that it is anxious to find a way out of the deadlock caused by the stubborn refusal of certain Western Powers to prohibit atomic weapons and withdraw them from national armaments. For many years that refusal was motivated by the assertion that prohibition of atomic weapons would give the Soviet Union superiority in conventional armaments. But when the Soviet Union, desiring to meet the Western Powers half-way, suggested that common ground be found first on the question of reducing conventional weapons, the opponents of disarmament began to claim that the U.S.S.R. had lost all interest in prohibition of atomic weapons.

The Soviet Union has been working consistently to end the deadlock on disarmament and put the question on a practical footing. Indisputable confirmation of that will be found not only in its proposals for substantially reducing armed forces and armaments and prohibiting atomic weapons, but also in the steps it has taken, unilaterally, to substantially reduce its own armed forces and armaments.

The Soviet Union's desire to solve the disarmament problem is further evinced by its position on the question of terminating nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons tests.

In the programme of measures for reducing armaments, prohibiting atomic weapons and removing the danger of another war, which it submitted to the United Nations in May 1955, the Government of the U.S.S.R. proposed that the countries possessing atomic and hydrogen weapons undertake to cease tests of these weapons of mass destruction. That initiative, however, was not supported by the United States and certain other Western Powers.

This spring the Soviet Government submitted to the United Nations a proposal for immediate termination of thermonuclear weapons tests, irrespective of whether or not agreement was reached on other aspects of disarmament. But this proposal, too, has not met with a positive response from the above-mentioned Powers.

It is our opinion that the question of ceasing atomic and hydrogen weapons tests can be considered separately from a general disarmament programme, and can be solved independently and right now, without waiting for general agreement on disarmament. This view, as you know, is shared by the Government of India, whose proposal for termination of nuclear weapons tests is now being considered by the U.N. Disarmament Commission. Unfortunately, the U.S., British, French and Canadian representatives on the Commission have come out against the Indian proposal too.

The U.S. representative on the Disarmament Commission stated on July 13, that the United States could not abandon nuclear weapons development, that continuation of nuclear weapons tests was necessary for its security, and that it would continue such tests. Well, that statement has the merit, at least, of making it perfectly clear that the United States Government is evading support of the proposal to prohibit nuclear weapons tests—a proposal advanced by the governments of the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, all the socialist countries, India, Japan and by the public at large in West and East.

Unfortunately, the attitude of the British Government on this issue differs little, in essentials, from that of the United States. The British Government suggests that a beginning be made by so-called partial restriction of test explosions, and that complete cessation be introduced only in one of the distant stages of disarmament. More, the British representative told the Commission the other day that even this partial restriction could be introduced only within the framework of a general agreement on disarmament, the achievement of which is still a matter of the indefinite future.

One cannot but agree with the arguments adduced by the Indian representative, Mr. Krishna Menon, in the U.N. Disarmament Commission. Criticizing Western attempts to make these restrictions a substitute for total prohibition

of test explosions, Mr. Menon remarked that continuation of the test explosions adds momentum to the arms race.

Of course, termination of nuclear weapons tests is not a panacea for all evils. The principal task is to secure complete prohibition of atomic weapons, termination of their manufacture, prohibition of their employment, and their withdrawal from national armaments.

The Soviet position on this question is absolutely clear. We suggest complete prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons—prohibition of test explosions, termination of production of atomic and hydrogen weapons, prohibition of their employment, destruction of stockpiles and withdrawal of these weapons from national armaments. (*Applause.*) The matter now rests entirely with the governments of the Western Powers.

The Soviet Government believes that agreement between the Powers to discontinue atomic and hydrogen weapons tests could be a first step in this direction, a first step towards banning and destroying atomic weapons. It would help to improve the international situation and serve to foster confidence among the nations.

Discontinuance of atomic and hydrogen weapons tests does not require complicated international agreements on control, because the present state of science and engineering is such that the explosion of an atomic or hydrogen bomb anywhere can be immediately detected. Nor does agreement on this question require long multi-lateral negotiations, inasmuch as it now depends on the governments of only three countries, which are at present in a position to produce these weapons, namely, the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union.

For a long time now, there have been endless discussions in the U.N. Disarmament Commission and Sub-Committee, and numerous proposals and counter-proposals have been examined. Yet, we are not an inch nearer disarmament. The legitimate question that may arise in the minds of all sincere peace-lovers is this: Is not someone endeavouring to turn the U.N. Disarmament Commission into a commission on non-interference in disarmament? The interests of peace, the interests of upholding the prestige of the United Nations, require transition from talk to action, to concrete decisions.

The Soviet Government believes that it is necessary for the three Powers—the U.S.S.R., the U.S.A. and Britain—to reach agreement without further delay on immediate termination of all tests and experimental explosions of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons.

Such an agreement would accord with the interests and hopes of the whole of mankind. It is our direct duty to justify these hopes.

For the peoples it is important that test explosions be discontinued without delay. Given good will on the part of the U.S.A. and Britain, it should not be difficult to find an acceptable form for agreement to this effect. In our view, such an agreement could be reached within the United Nations, or it could assume the form of a tripartite treaty between the governments of the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R. and Britain, to which other nations might subsequently adhere, or it might take the form of official statements by each of these three governments, pledging to cease atomic and hydrogen weapons tests. Any of these forms would be acceptable to the Soviet Government, and it is prepared immediately to start negotiations with the Governments of the United States and Great Britain on this matter.

I wish to express the confidence that this attitude of the Soviet Government, which fully corresponds to the interests of universal peace, will be approved by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

SPEECH BY DEPUTY J. I. PALECKIS

Comrade Deputies, we people of the older generation have seen and experienced during almost half a century not only the most gigantic wars in history but we have also witnessed the rapid emergence of unprecedentedly devastating weapons. Thousands of years elapsed between the invention of the arrow and the invention of gunpowder. From the first flying achine to jet aircraft was less than the span of one human life. From jet aircraft to transoceanic intercontinental ballistic missiles took a still shorter time.

At the time of the First World War the concept of the hinterland and the security of the civil population still existed even if only outside the theatre of operations. This concept has gone. Neither air nor ocean can stop the flying death. Air and ocean, on the contrary, may become death's allies and carry it to those who did not suffer directly from bomb explosions.

We should like to forget, although so far we have no right to, that quite recently certain people tried to strike fear into the whole world with the monstrous consequences of atom explosions and then, when it appeared, with the hydrogen bomb. Until now we have no right to forget how the world was menaced with the destruction of whole countries and nations, how published "photographs of the future" showed London and Paris devastated. One would think that those who were so menaced would themselves refrain from the production of weapons of mass destruction and would try to persuade those possessing them to do the same. The facts, as we know, show that the opposite is true.

The Japanese people have experienced the actual explosions of atom bombs and the consequences of new bomb

tests. It is, therefore, quite natural that the Japanese people and their Parliament should raise the question of the prohibition of further tests. I should first of all like to assure the Japanese people and their Parliament that the whole Soviet people and all the parliamentary Deputies of that people feel profound sympathy for the Japanese nation in the tragedy they have experienced. We bow our heads before the victims of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and before the victims of the bomb tests. We are, furthermore, convinced that our sympathies are shared by all honest people on this planet, by all those who see the reason and object of human existence in life and not in death. We may paraphrase Thyl Ulenspiegel and say to the Japanese: the ashes of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the sufferings of the test explosion victims are knocking at the heart of Japan, and their blows must inevitably reverberate in the hearts of all honest people.

From time immemorial man has devoted his genius to providing himself with the means of existence, to making life secure, and to ensure freedom and happiness for the peoples. This purpose was served by the stone axe, the wooden plough, it is served today by the tractor and the latest computing machines. There are, however, many inventions which carry within themselves destructive as well as creative power. There are dark forces at work that would turn into a weapon of death the modern science that could become the means of ensuring common happiness. These are forces that would make science the assassin of mankind instead of its helper and ally. Is this possible? We are convinced that it is not. Every new day brings fresh confirmation of this. We see the gradual extinction of the "cold war" no matter how much the advocates of death try to keep it burning.

In the present case, however, convictions are not enough. Nothing was ever achieved by blind faith. We must make sure that the impossibility of using the sabre is obvious even to those who are rattling it. The nations must compel their governments to conclude an agreement that would guarantee them against any attempt to settle disputes with the aid of the atom or any other bomb. There are two simple truths that are obvious to everybody: firstly, there is no problem that cannot be solved peacefully given the necessary good will and secondly, there is no problem that can be solved

with atom or hydrogen bombs even where there is evil will. Although the absence of good will still does not mean war, the existence of evil will constitutes a threat of death.

We well remember Hitler's evil will. We also know who put an end to that evil will—the peoples of the whole world, first and foremost the Soviet people. We are proud of that. We are convinced that any new bearer of evil will, any new ally of death will meet with still greater resistance from the peoples and will suffer the same defeat as Hitler.

We should like people to forget the old saying that if you want peace you should prepare for war. The nations demand that their governments firmly and for all time adopt another policy—if you want peace prepare for peace. If a bad peace is better than a good quarrel then a heated discussion is better than a "cold war," or as one Englishman put it, it is better to argue for ten years than to fight for one day.

In one of his polemics Lenin said that when Communists make a mistake, two and two make five: if the mistakes and miscalculations are made by the bourgeoisie, then two and two make a tallow candle. In the course of one generation imperialism has made mistake after mistake. Its miscalculations increase in number day by day. If anybody does not understand this, let him recall Hitler's miscalculations and the tallow candle they added up to.

And the tallow candle of the "cold war" is also burning out. But we must not hide from ourselves the fact that one little match is enough to cause a big conflagration. The dying flame of the "cold war" is in the hands of those whose stock falls as hopes for a general, lasting peace rise. This dangerous little flame appeared recently on our frontiers. American aircraft flew over Byelorussia, Lithuania and Kaliningrad Region.

Our aircraft do not fly over California or Texas. The appearance of American aircraft over our territory is the latest attempt to put life into the dying flame of the tallow candle.

We believe that the message of the Japanese Parliament had the object of preventing the danger of a possible attempt to set fire to our planet. In this connection I would like to remind you that questions of international security, disarmament and the prohibition of atomic and thermo-nuclear weapons also come within the competency of the Inter-Par-

liamentary Union to which a Parliamentary Group of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. belongs. A resolution was adopted at the 44th Conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union held in Helsinki appealing to all parliaments to bring pressure to bear on their governments to ensure a successful solution of these problems.

On the initiative of the U.S.S.R. Parliamentary Group the question of disarmament was also discussed at Dubrovnik where the 78th Session of the Council of the Inter-Parliamentary Union also appealed to the parliaments of the whole world to demand from their governments and especially from those that are represented in the Sub-Committee of the United Nations Disarmament Commission to continue their efforts to conclude an all-round disarmament agreement. The resolution also contains a demand to prohibit the production and use of all kinds of weapons of mass destruction. This prohibition must be preceded at the earliest possible date by the conclusion of an agreement on the cessation of nuclear weapon tests. It was also decided to make problems of disarmament a point on the agenda of the forthcoming 45th Conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union to be held in Bangkok (Thailand) next November.

At this conference the Soviet delegation will defend that peace-loving policy which our government, in the interests of the people, pursues in all questions of disarmament as a means of avoiding war and improving the conditions of human existence.

Nobody can doubt the sincerity of our government and our people. A large number of parliamentary delegations have recently visited our country. All of them have come to the unanimous conclusion that our people, who suffered so much from the last war and are building their new life with such enthusiasm, do not want another war. If the steps taken by our government with the support of the whole people have not yet met with success that only means that they must be continued.

With each passing day an ever greater number of people in the world are becoming convinced that our proposals and concrete measures are just and peace-loving and are the only effective ones. The disarmament by stages that we propose is the best guarantee of security for all. If the absolute prohi-

bition of the atom weapon is not yet practicable, then let us put an end to its tests, on a mutual basis, of course.

In this respect we are in complete agreement with the Japanese people who have learnt from their own experience the consequences of these tests. We hope that the parliaments of other countries, expressing the will of their peoples, will join their voices to the Japanese and Soviet parliaments.

I propose that we approve the Declaration of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. in connection with the message of the Japanese Parliament on the question of prohibiting the nuclear weapon and putting an end to its tests.

Comrade Deputies, in connection with the discussion of the Japanese Parliament's message, the group of Deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. who are members of the Peace Defence Committee asked the Soviet Government what measures they are taking to prohibit thermo-nuclear weapon tests. We have heard the reply given by Comrade Shepilov, Minister of Foreign Affairs. I believe I am expressing the opinion of all Deputies to the Supreme Soviet in proposing that we approve the government's policy and concrete measures both for disarmament and for the immediate prohibition of thermo-nuclear weapon tests and of the employment of that weapon, since this policy is in accordance with the interests and the will of the Soviet people and of the cause of peace throughout the world. (*Applause.*)

SPEECH BY DEPUTY A. N. SHELEPIN

Comrade Deputies, the present session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. heartily approves Comrade Bulganin's statement to the effect that the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Government of the Soviet Union, guided by the decisions of the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U., will continue unswervingly their Leninist policy of the peaceful coexistence of states irrespective of their social systems, will struggle actively in the cause of peace and the security of the peoples, for greater trust in international relations, for the conversion of that easing of international tension that has been achieved into a durable peace amongst the nations. With feelings of great satisfaction we heard today the statement made by Comrade Shepilov, Minister of Foreign Affairs. We all fully approve the policy and practical measures of the Soviet Government on the question of disarmament and the immediate cessation of nuclear weapon tests and the prohibition of its use.

The time that has elapsed since the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party has shown that the fundamentally important theses put forward by Comrade Khrushchov in his report—on the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, on the possibility of preventing war in the present epoch, on the variety of forms for the transition of different countries to socialism—added to the gigantic practical work of the Communist Party and the Soviet Govern-

ment, are having a beneficial effect on the international situation, are helping ease tension and strengthen the unity of action of all forces struggling for peace and democracy.

Our people, our Soviet youth fully approve and heartily support the Soviet Government's foreign policy. This policy also finds support amongst people in all walks of life and all countries of the world.

We have heard a report on the message from the Japanese Parliament on the prohibition of the nuclear weapon and the cessation of nuclear weapon tests. We welcome this step taken by the Japanese Parliament. The concern felt by that parliament at the unceasing nuclear armaments race is understood by all Soviet people. The inhabitants of Hiroshima and Nagasaki have already experienced the horrors of atom bombardment. At the time of the bombing of these towns many people perished and following the atom bomb explosions sickness raged for a lengthy period carrying off hundreds of lives daily. In these towns to the present day there are still cases of specific diseases that are difficult to treat or are quite incurable and mortal. The effects of the atom bombardment are also felt by the rising generation. The ceaseless atom and hydrogen bomb tests on the Pacific islands constitute a threat to the life and health of many people.

The Soviet Union is one of the foremost advocates of the prohibition of atom and hydrogen weapons. In January 1946, at the first session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, our government proposed the conclusion of an international convention forbidding the atom weapon. In the course of the more than ten years that have elapsed since then our government, expressing the will of the people, has on many occasions demanded the banning of the atom weapon and the establishment of a strict international control to ensure its unconditional enforcement and has made a number of concrete proposals for the solution of the problem.

Our persistent demand for the prohibition of nuclear weapons is not a sign of weakness. The whole world knows that our country possesses this weapon, so let the atom-mongers not think that the Soviet people can be intimidated by their atom and hydrogen bombs. The Soviet people is a peace-lov-

ing people. We can, however, say to those who are so anxious to use atom and hydrogen bombs—as ye sow, so shall ye reap! Our demand for the unconditional prohibition of atom and hydrogen bombs is an integral part of the peace-loving Leninist foreign policy of our government. The Soviet people, furthermore, are guided by feelings of humanism.

It is well known that the Soviet Union has always favoured the most extensive employment of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, a field in which our country gave an example to all others. In 1954 the Soviet Union opened the first atomic power station to be built in the world. During the sixth five-year plan period we shall build atomic power stations with a total capacity of 2-2.5 million kw.; the youth of our country, members of the Young Communist League are taking an active part in the construction work. The Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U. indicated the necessity of a much more extensive application of atomic energy to peace needs. This includes all-round development of the use of radio-active rays in industry, agriculture and medicine, the more extensive use of marked atoms for scientific research work. The Soviet Union favours greater international cooperation in using atomic energy for peace.

Numerous facts attest the ardent desire of the Soviet Government and the Soviet people to bring about the prohibition of nuclear weapons. The clear and consistent Soviet policy, however, is not to some people's liking. There are amongst the ruling circles of some of the Western countries, especially the U.S.A., those who do not desire the prohibition of nuclear weapons and the easing of international tension. In what other way can we understand the statement made recently by U.S. President Eisenhower in a letter to the Chairman of the Congressional Joint Atomic Energy Committee to the effect that armaments take priority in the allocation of existing supplies of fissionable materials, that in the existing world situation primary attention must as before be given to supplies for armament production.

Imperialist reactionaries are engaged in an armaments race and are forming all sorts of military blocs. The United States is not only arming itself but has drawn its NATO partners into the arms race and is hastening the formation of a West

German army equipped with atomic and other weapons of mass destruction. The territory of a number of countries is being used for U.S. military bases and bridgeheads. Here, for example, is what a youth by the name of Owashi writes us from the Japanese town of Numazu: "I live in the little town of Numazu, about a hundred miles off Tokyo at the foot of Fuji. There are American installations for ten miles around the town and the banks of the Sembonhoma where we bathed in our childhood have become a training ground for American army manoeuvres with landing operations. At night in the centre of the town they carry out storming operations accompanied by the ominous sound of explosions. Our native town, once the most beautiful in the world, has become the world's most dismal and unfortunate." There are similar unfortunate towns and villages in other countries whose governments have subserviently placed their territory at the disposal of the Pentagon.

The production of atomic energy for war needs has become one of the biggest branches of industry in the U.S.A. Up to 1955 about 12,000 million dollars had been allocated for atom production. A further 8,000 million dollars are earmarked for the production of atomic weapons during the next four years. Capital investments in atomic industries exceed the total capital of such giant monopolies as General Motors, United Steel and Dupont added together.

The enormous expenditure on the production of nuclear weapons is a heavy burden for the taxpayer to bear, and it is the rising generation that suffers mostly. While expenditure on atom bombs in the same United States of America runs into billions of dollars there is a school crisis with a tremendous shortage of teachers and textbooks. According to official American statistics, there is a deficiency of 370,000 class-rooms which deprives about six million children of the opportunity to study. The Government of the U.S.A. has reduced school building on the ridiculous excuse that there is a shortage of steel. At the same time it has been calculated that the building of 600,000 class-rooms would require only five per cent of U.S. annual steel output and that a modern bomber aircraft costs as much as 30 city school buildings.

Another example is South Korea. The conditions of the youth there are deplorable. There are 900,000 child beggars in

the country. In the city of Seoul alone 85 per cent of the school children are suffering from various diseases. Young men who do not want to join the army are cruelly persecuted. According to the South Korean Telegraph Agency, in the month of July 1955 alone, over 20,000 youths were arrested because they did not want to join the army. Similar examples could be quoted from a number of other countries.

Death and mutilation, the destruction of all that has been created by the people, the misery of widows and orphans, hunger and privation—this is what war means to mankind. That is why millions of young people in all countries hate war. It is the dream of the youth that the great power of the atom should not sow death amongst the people but should bring them light and joy, should turn deserts into flowering gardens, should help mankind conquer the forces of nature. Youth and students'organizations of the most diverse character, many cultural, sports and religious organizations are protesting against atomic warfare and favour the prohibition of the nuclear weapon. There are numerous facts which go to show that the youth of Japan, like the entire people of that country who have already experienced the horrors of atomic warfare, are determined that the ghastly spectre of the Hiroshima tragedy should disappear for ever. "Hiroshima and Nagasaki must never be repeated!" is the slogan that sounds like a tocsin throughout Japan.

The young men and women of the Soviet Union in whom the Communist Party has inculcated a spirit of Soviet patriotism, internationalism and friendship between nations are, together with the whole Soviet people, devoting all their energies to the defence of the peace and security of the peoples, are active in their demands for the prohibition of thermo-nuclear weapons and fervently support all efforts made by the Soviet Government in this direction. The Soviet youth want to live in peace, to study and to work for their own happiness, for the happiness of the Soviet people, for the happiness of all people on our planet. For this reason 350,000 young men and women have left their homes to till virgin and fallow lands. For this reason hundreds of thousands of young people have responded to the appeal of the Communist Party and the Government and have gone to work on construction sites in Siberia, the North and in the Far

East. In the name of peace the Soviet youth are working enthusiastically on all sectors of our great communist construction.

We are firmly convinced that the atom war can be prevented, and from this point of view the message from the Japanese Parliament on the question of the prohibition of the nuclear weapon and the cessation of tests deserves unqualified endorsement. Like other deputies I give my full support to the proposed declaration of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. in connection with the message of the Japanese Parliament. This act will play an important role in further mobilizing the forces of peace in the struggle for the prohibition of atom and hydrogen weapon production and of the testing of these weapons. (*Applause.*)

Date Due

Printed in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

IN-THE-20TH-CENTURY-----0172047-----

UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

HX 632 A1 W9 no.498
World communism in the 20th century.

0172047A MAIN

498

Материалы
Пятой сессии Верховного Совета СССР по вопросам
разоружения и запрещения атомного
и водородного оружия

На английском языке